ANGLO-SAXON DÆG-MÆL

DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES
OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND ENGLISH LITERATURE,
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

BALTIMORE
THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
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TO

MY UNIVERSITY COMRADES

JAMES PINCKNEY KINARD

AND

JOHN McLAREN McBRYDE, JR.

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ANGLO-SAXON DÆG-MÆL.

("Swa swa þa geleafullas ræderas hit gesetton, and eac gewisse dæg-mæl us swa tæcaþ," *Leechdoms*, III, 256.)

Introduction.

I began my work upon this subject with a study of the Anglo-Saxon year; but this, I was soon convinced, meant nothing less than a study of medieval astronomical science, and required far more leisure and aptitude than I possessed. I have, therefore, chosen to limit myself to particular portions of this broad subject.

In my first chapter, I discuss the Anglo-Saxon day and the method of determining its divisions. To the mathematical treatment, I regret that I am unable to bring the scientific sense that it demands; but the results reached in my earliest pages are, I believe, accurate and, I hope, not without value. In the second part of this chapter, I make the Canonical Hours the basis of a detailed study of the Anglo-Saxon divisions of time, and seek to show what these divisions meant to clerk and layman. I use freely the Benedictine church offices, when they serve to fix the time of the hours; and have been much assisted by the labors of students of ecclesiastical institutions like Fosbroke (*British Monachism*,

1843) and Bouterwek (*Cædmon's Biblische Dichtungen*, 1854, Chap. VIII).

I am quite well convinced of the insufficient character of my study of the Middle-English Hours. Even this modest attempt to supplement work in the older field is much more than has yet been done; and my results here will, I doubt not, be confirmed by more thorough research. Lexicons contain much of the material that I have collected independently, but this fact does not diminish the worth of a tabulation of references, which, in their previous arrangement, could give but little help to the student of Anglo-Saxon Dæg-mæl.

The purpose of my second chapter is to present in Calendar form the Rubrics of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels; to trace the history of the connection between text and date from the early days of the Church until our own time; and, by a system of notes explanatory of the Rubrics, to discuss the Anglo-Saxon feasts and fasts. I mention necessary introductory details at the beginning of this chapter.

I had in mind to discuss the Year, Seasons and Day in Anglo-Saxon poetry; but I reserve this treatment on account of the length of my paper. A reference from my headings to Grein's *Sprachschatz* will, however, put at command the necessary material.

I have not deemed it necessary to swell my Bibliography with texts used for one or two references. These, and the Middle-English works employed, are sufficiently defined when mentioned in the body of the paper. The sources of much of my study of the Rubrics are given in the introduction to the second chapter.

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Chapter I.

The Anglo-Saxon Day.

In treating of the Anglo-Saxon day, its divisions and the time and significance of each, we have to deal with conditions very different from those that govern our calculations to-day. The following passage from Newcomb and Holden's *Astronomy*, p. 217, will prepare us for the discussion to follow :—

"The division of the day into hours was, in ancient and medieval times, effected in a way very unlike that which we practice. Artificial time-keepers not being in general use, the two cardinal moments were sunrise or sunset, which marked the day as distinct from the night. . . . The interval between

[1] 1720 as a terminus a quo for the Notes is attested by Waterland's citations from Johnson's *Laws*. This copy of Somner is now in the Library of Dr. J. W. Bright.

sunrise and sunset was divided into twelve equal parts called hours, and, as this interval varied with the season, the length of the hour varied also. The night, whether long or short, was divided into hours of the same character, only when the night hours were long those of the day were short, and *vice versa*. These variable hours were called temporary hours. At the time of the Equinoxes both the day and night hours were of the same length as those we use, namely, the 24th part of the day. These were, therefore, called equinoctial hours."

The use of temporary hours among Jews, Greeks, and Romans is attested by many ancient writers cited by Leo Allatius in his learned treatise, *De Mensura Temporum*, Chap. IV. Among late Latin writers, Censorinus (*De die nat.*, Chap. XXIII, § 1 sq.) and Macrobius (*Saturnaliorum*, Lib. I, Chap. III, § 11) distinguish clearly between the Natural day of twelve temporary hours, beginning at sunrise and ending at sunset, and the Civil day of twenty-four hours, beginning at midnight.

Now, is this true of Anglo-Saxon times; are we to expect here also a distinction between Natural and Civil day, between temporary and equinoctial hours? This question can be linked with another: when was the Anglo-Saxon day beginning? Answers are not far to seek. Bede, the prop of all Anglo-Saxon science, tells us in his *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. V (Migne's *Patr. Lat.*, 90, p. 309):

"Dies definitio bifariam dividitur, hoc est vulgariter et proprie. Vulgum enim omnem diem solis praesentiam super terras appellat. Proprie autem dies XXIV horis, id est circuitu solis totum orbis lustrantis impletur."

Ælfric, *De Temporibus*, a translation of Bede's *Starcraft*[1] (Wright, *Pop. Science*, 2; Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 236)—henceforth quoted as Bede[2]—follows his master closely:

"We hataþ ænne dæg fram Sunnan upgange oþ æfen. ac swa þeah is on bocum geteald to anum dagum fram þære Sun-

[1] Upon the Relation of this work to its originals, see Reum, *Anglia*, X, 457 sq.

nan upgange oð þæt heo eft becume þær heo ær upstah—on þæm fæce sind getealde feower and twenti tida."

That remarkable potpourri, Byrhtferð's *Handboc* (*Anglia*, VIII, 317, 8), yields the following:

"On twam wisum ys se dæg gecweden, naturaliter et vulgariter, þæt ys gecyndlice and ceorlice þæt ys þæs dæges gecynd þæt he hæbbe feower and twentig tida fram þære sunnan upspringe þæt he eft up hyre leoman ætywe. Vulgaris vel artificialis dies est þæt biþ ceorlisc dæg oððe cræftlice fram þære sunnan anginne þæt heo to setle ga and eft cum mancynne to blisse."

Here then is the most direct evidence that the Anglo-Saxon day, natural or artificial, began at sunrise.[1]

Prime, which must be sung at sunrise,—"Primsang on þære forman dæg tid þæt is be sunnan upgange," Bouterwek's *Caedmons biblische Dichtungen*, p. CXCVI—shows the ecclesiastical time of beginning the day.[2]

The Anglo-Saxon usage does not correspond, therefore, to the Roman, nor to the sunset-beginning of the Hebrews, but to the one employed in the Saviour's lifetime, the Chaldaean and Persian (Bede, *De Ratione Temporum*, Chap. V, M. *P. L.*, 90, p. 313). Durand's *Rationale*, VII, I, 16, p. 281, shows that, even in his day (1286), a sunrise-beginning was favored. All time-conditions were altered by the introduction of clocks (*infra*); but Chaucer mentions the "Day artificial," that lasted from "the sonne arysing til hit go to reste" (*Astrolabe*, Part II, 7).

[1] The meaning of *morgen* in many places is corroborative evidence: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1106, on þe niht þe on mergen wæs Cena Domini; *Leechdoms*, III, 6, and þonne oniht þonne Sumor gæþ on tun on mergen; *Calendewide*, p. 16, l. 218. In these cases the *cras* and *mane* meanings correspond. *To mergen, cras* is of frequent occurrence: *Genesis*, XIX, 1; *Exodus*, VII, 15 (*mane*); VIII, 10 (*cras*); *Ex.*, IX, 5; XVII, 9; XXXII, 5 (*cras*), etc., etc.

[2] That *Nocturnalis Synaxis* (*Excerptions* of Ecgbriht, 28, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 328), *Matutinum* (*Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XVI) and *Uhtsang* (*Canons of Ælfric*, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 444) precede Primsang, does not indicate the Roman midnight-beginning of the day, but the mere order of work of the monks, after leaving their beds.

We have seen that the Anglo-Saxon distinguished between Natural and Artificial day. As upon this distinction hangs the difference between the equal or equinoctial and the unequal or temporary hours, a detailed treatment of each class of day is necessary.

I. *Natural Day.*

The whole matter is put concisely by Bede, when he tells us (*De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. III, M. *P. L.*, 90, p. 392) that, if we count the day from sunrise to sunset, it will contain more equinoctial hours in summer than in winter. This recognition of the Natural day for common use is confirmed in Bede[2] (Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 260), and equinoctial hours are mentioned: *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. XXXI, XXXIII; *De Ratione Computus*, Chap. II; *De Divisione Temporis*, Chap. VIII; *Ecclesiastical History*, I, 1 (Giles, p. 30, l. 27).

The Natural day is treated in a *Book of Martyrs* of King Ælfred's reign (Cockayne):

Shrine, p.	69.	March.	Night,	12	hrs.	Day,	12	hrs.
" "	79.	April.	"	10	"	"	14	"
" "	99.	June.	"	6	"	"	18	"
" "	110.	July.	"	8	"	"	16	"
" "	124.	August.	"	10	"	"	14	"
" "	153.	November.	"	16	"	"	8	"

This list is remarkably supplemented by Byrhtferð:

B. 59, *Anglia*, VIII, 305, 32.	Jan.	Night,	16	hrs.	Day,	8	hrs.
" 84, " "	311, 5.	May.	"	8	"	"	16	"
" 86, " "	311, 22.	Aug.	"	10	"	"	14	"
" 86, " "	311, 27.	Sept.	"	12	"	"	12	"
" 87, " "	311, 32.	Oct.	"	14	"	"	10	"
" 88, " "	311, 42.	Dec.	"	18	"	"	6	"[1]

[1] The hours of day and night in each month are given: Cotton Vitellius E., XVIII; Cotton, Titus D., XXVII (Hampson, *Kalendarium*, I, 422 sq., 435 sq).

Of course any systematic time-measurement (Byrhtferð, 115–120, *Anglia*, VIII, 317–18) presupposes the use of the Natural day, but this will be treated later.[1]

II. *Artificial Day.*

The evidence that unequal hours were employed by the Anglo-Saxons is very conclusive. In the passage mentioned under the Natural day, Bede shows that the twelve hours of the Artificial day—the time from sunrise to sunset—are necessarily unequal; and the frequent mention of *aequinoctiales horae* argues for those of another order (Bede[2], Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 236, 256). Ælfric, who had translated portions of the *De Temporibus* (see Bede[2]), and assented elsewhere in his works to Bede's astronomical teachings (Thorpe, *Homilies*, I, 100, "Se lareow Beda tilþ us mid miclum gesceade, etc.") clearly recognizes the Artificial division, Thorpe, *Homilies*, II, 388, 14: "An wæcce hæfð þreo tida, feower wæccan gefylleþ twelf tida, swa fela tida hæfð seo niht." The writer of the Ælfredian Metres had unequal hours in mind, when he departed thus from his original (IV, 18):

"Hwæt þu fæder weorcest
sumorlange dagas swiþe hate;
þæm winterdagum wundrum sceorta
tida getiohhast."

In Anglo-Saxon times, unequal hours had their support in the Hours of the Canons. Though these were strictly for "hooded men" or monks (cf. Opening of Benedictine service, and Byrhtferð, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, "gemearcode cnihtas"), there can be but little doubt that with them the laity were perfectly familiar. The Homily on the fifth Sunday in Quadragesima (Assmann, Grein's *Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, III, Chap. XII, p. 144) directs laymen who cannot attend daily

[1] References to Chaucer are interesting here: *Complaint of Mars*, l. 122. "A naturel day in derke, I let her dwelle;" *Astrolabe*, II, § 7, l. 12, cited Skeat's Note to above (*Complete Works*, I, p. 499), "The day naturel, that is to seyn 24 hours."

services to be present on Sundays and feast-days at Uhtsang and Mass and Evensong; and in the *Blickling Homilies*, p. 47, every Christian man is directed to cross himself seven times a day at the Canonical Hours.

The Hours of the Canons are necessarily unequal. The gloss to Midday is always "sexta hora," and to None, "nona hora" (*Benedictine Rule*); in the *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 7, "to middes morgenes" is substituted for Undern, the day's third hour (*Benedictine Rule;* Bouterwek, *Caedmon's biblische Dichtungen*, p. CXCVI; *Shrine*, p. 79). Now, as Prime is necessarily at sunrise (*supra*), it is easy to see that, were equinoctial hours employed, on December 25th, when the sun rises at 8.20 a. m. and sets at 3.40 p. m. (Horology), Undern would not fall at mid-morning, but at 11.20 a. m.; Midday ("sexta hora") at 2.20 p. m., and None, three hours later at the end of the evening twilight. The temporary hours are, without question, those in use (cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. "Hours of Prayer").

I shall now present a scientific study of the data, given in connection with an Anglo-Saxon Horologium (MS. Cotton Tib. A., III, fol. 176, *Leechdoms*, III, 218 sq.). This will disclose the old method of marking time and will aid our consideration of the Artificial day and unequal hours.

Horology Notes.[1]

1. On account of the ancient error in the Calendar, December 25th in the 10th Century, would be December 30th, according to corrected methods of calculation; January 6th, January 11th, etc.

[1] In connection with this attempt to

> "tell what hour o' th' day
> The clock does strike, by Algebra,"

I must acknowledge the generous assistance of my friend, Dr. Horace C. Richards, of the University of Pennsylvania. For any Hudibras-like blunders, I am, of course, personally responsible.

	Shadows.		Latitude.	Declination.	Horology Undern.	Horology None.	Sunrise.	Sunset.	Standard Artificial Undern.	Standard Artificial None.
	None or Undern.	Midday.								
					A. M.	P. M.	A. M.	P. M.	A. M.	P. M.
Dec. 25th.....	26½	24	52° 48′	S. 23° 9′	11–10	12–50	8–20	3–40	10–10	1–50
Jan. 6th.....	25	22	52° 59′	S. 21° 46′	10–50	1–10	8–11	3–49	10–6	1–54
Jan. 21st.....	21	18+	53° 6′	S. 18° 39′	10–40	1–20	7–48	4–12	9–54	2–6
Feb. 4th.....	17½	15	53° 37′	S. 14° 35′	10–27	1–33	7–22	4–38	9–41	2–19
Feb. 17th.....	15	12	53° 20′	S. 10° 6′	10–3	1–57	6–56	5–4	9–28	2–32
March 6th.....	13	9½	54° 6′	S. 3° 36′	9–25	2–35	6–20	5–40	9–10	2–50
March 21st..... (Equinox).	11	8½	57° 4′	N. 2° 17′	9–22	2–38	5–47	6–13	8–54	3–6
April 5th.....	9½	7	57° 25′	N. 8° 1′	9–2	2–58	5–17	6–43	8–39	3–21
April 20th.....	8+	6	58° 15′	N. 13° 15′	8–58	3–2	4–47	7–13	8–24	3–26
May 6th.....	8	4½	54° 48′	N. 17° 55′	8–34	3–26	4–17	7–43	8–9	3–51
May 21st.....	7	4	54° 51′	N. 21° 9′	8–38	3–22	3–55	8–5	7–58	4–2
June 1st.....	7+	4	56° 22′	N. 22° 40′	8–28	3–32	3–44	8–16	7–52	4–8
June 13th.....	7½	4	57° 6′	N. 23° 25′	8–16	3–44	3–38	8–22	7–49	4–11
June 24th.....	8	4	57° 55′	N. 23° 13′	8–10	3–50	3–40	8–20	7–50	4–10
July 6th.....	8	4+	57° 6′	N. 22° 5′	8–11	3–49	3–48	8–12	7–54	4–6
July 21st.....	8+	4½	56° 17′	N. 19° 27′	8–20	3–40	4–7	7–53	8–4	3–56
Aug. 8th.....	8½	5+	55° 33′	N. 14° 37′	8–18	3–42	4–38	7–22	8–19	3–41
Aug. 21st.....	9	6	55° 22′	N. 10° 21′	8–52	3–8	5–3	6–57	8–32	3–28
Sept. 5th.....	10½	7	54° 17′	N. 4° 55′	9–8	2–52	5–35	6–26	8–47	3–13
Sept. 20th..... (Equinox.)	12	9	55° 24′	S. 0° 55′	9–38	2–22	6–11	5–49	9–5	2–55
Oct. 6th.....	14	11	54° 17′	S. 7° 5′	9–40	2–20	6–39	5–21	9–20	2–40
Oct. 21st.....	16+	13	52° 43′	S. 12° 31′	10–14	1–46	7–10	4–50	9–35	2–25
Nov. 5th.....	19	17	53° 21′	S. 17° 12′	10–36	1–24	7–39	4–21	9–50	2–10
Nov. 20th.....	24	21	53° 16′	S. 20° 48′	10–45	1–15	8–3	3–57	10–2	1–58
Dec. 14th.....	27	25	52° 58′	S. 23° 25′	11–12	12–48	8–23	3–37	10–12	1–48

2. The variation of Latitude shows how hopelessly inaccurate were the monkish calculations. As, however, it is natural to suppose that the mistake would be smaller when the shadow was longer, I have taken the mean of the "winter latitudes," 53° 20′. Learning the Declination for each of the given dates from the *Greenwich Ephemeris and Nautical Almanac*, I determined from the formula, Cos h = — tan ϕ tan d (h = hour-angle; ϕ = latitude; d = declination), the time of sunrise and sunset. As all glosses of Undern and None are "tertia hora" and "nona hora," and the Horology tells us that they are on equal sides of Midday (both having the same shadow), I have placed what I may term for convenience the "standard artificial" Undern at half-way between sunrise and Midday, the "standard artificial" None at half-way between Midday and sunset.

3. Although the Undern and None of the Horologium are too inaccurate for scientific purposes, they are useful in pointing out the probability of unequal hours in the calculation. By the formula in Newcomb and Holden's *Astronomy*, p. 44, $\sin^2 \frac{1}{2} h = \frac{\cos.(\phi - d) - \sin a}{2 \cos \phi \cos d}$ when $\tan a = \frac{l}{m}$ (a = altitude; l = height of gnomon; m = shadow), I have discovered that the hours of the Horology approach far nearer to the "standard artificial" Undern and None, than to the equinoctial hours, 9 a. m. and 3 p. m.

4. The writer of the Horology knew so little of Astronomy that he gives us different lengths for the shadows at the two Equinoxes—an impossibility, of course. This in itself does not impeach the value of his measurements, for, as I have shown (1), March 21st was not really the Equinox at all. A passage from Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 256, § 6, shows that other men of his day were farther from the truth than he:

"Manigra manna cwyddung is þæt seo lenctenlice emniht gebyrige rihtlice on octava Kl. Aprilis, þæt is on Marian Mæsse dæge."

5. The editor of Pope Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum* shows by citing (M. *P. L.* 78, p. 447) sentences at the close of an Horology by Bede, that the arrangement of this was to suit the Canonical Hours,—whose inequality demands no further discussion. This is strong accumulative evidence to the truth of results otherwise obtained.

6. The following references to Bede may be useful in this connection. In the *Libellus de Mensura Horologii* (M. *P. L.* 90, pp. 951–954) the Horology is carefully pictured and described. For length of shadows during different months of the year, and in different parts of the world, compare "Glossae et Scholiae," M. *P. L.* 90, 447, cited by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, Glossary, s. v. "Hora," and *De Ratione Temporum*, XXXIII, p. 447. Various pictorial representations of the Horology will be found: M. *P. L.* 90, pp. 433–436.

7. A treatise on the length of the days of the year, MS. Harleian 941, 15th Century, printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 318, has this heading: "Thys tretys was made at Oxynforde be the new Kalendre and proved in alle the Universyty." The latitude of Oxford is, however, 2° less than that of our Horology.

Long after Anglo-Saxon times, the Artificial day and unequal hours were known and employed. Philip of Thaun (circa 1121) notes the two kinds of day (*Li Cumpoz*, Mall, Strassburg, 1873, p. 11, l. 323, or *Livre des Creatures*, Wright's *Popular Science*, p. 25); Durand (1286) recognizes the temporary hours in his *Rationale*, v, 2, p. 138, but the *13th Century Latin Description of the Chilindre* (p. 51) gives the best evidence of the persistence of the Artificial day; I quote from Brock's translation: "When you wish to know the hours on any day, turn the style or indicator over the part of the month in which you are, and the shadow of the style will show you the hours passed, that is *the 12 hours of the day, whether the day be longer or shorter.*" This proves, as Mr. Brock says, that the hours used are unequal hours.

Even in Chaucer's day, when artificial time-keepers were in general use, temporary hours were not altogether a thing of the past. Equal and unequal hours exist side by side in the *Astrolabe* (Brae, 90–101):

Astrolabe, II, 8. "To turn the howres inequales in howres equales—knowe the nombre of the degrees in the houris inequales and departe hem by 15 and tak ther thin houris equales."

Astrolabe, II, 10 is interesting in connection with the use of planetary hours in the Knight's Tale (cf. Skeat's Notes, Clarendon Press Ed.):

Understond wel that thise houres inequalis ben cleped houris of planetes, and understond wel that some tyme ben thei lengere by day [than] by nyht and som tyme the contrarie.—Compare Skeat's *Astrolabe*, Preface LXI; II, § 7, p. 21.

The Artificial day will attract further attention, when I come to speak of the Canonical Hours.

Divisions of Night and Day.

In an interesting essay, "Die Aelteste Zeittheilung des indogermanischen Volkes" (*Sammlung gemein. wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, XIII Ser, Heft 296, Berlin, 1878), p. 44 (324), Dr. O. Schrader has discussed the Indogermanic habit of counting by nights, and the precedence given to night in many words,—e. g. raucapativâ, Νυχθήμερον, etc.

Since the Anglo-Saxons also employed this method of counting (*Menology*, l. 25, nihtgerimes; l. 48, ymb feower niht, etc., etc.), and since, whatever might be true of the Christian English, the Natural day began at sunset with their forefathers (Tacitus, *Germania*, 11: "Nox ducere diem videtur;" compare Kluge, *Etymologische Wörterbuch*, s. v. Abend, Fastabend, Sonnabend), I shall begin with the divisions of the night. Of these there are several Anglo-Saxon descriptions:

(a). Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 242 (cf. Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, I, 86–87), "Seo niht hæfð seofon dælas fram þære sunnan setlunge oð hire upgang. An þæra dæla is Crepusculum, þæt is Æfengloma. Oþer is Vesperum þæt is

Æfen, þonne se æfensteorra betwux þære repsunge æteowaþ. Þridde is Conticinium þonne ealle þing sweowiað on hyra reste. Feorða is Intempestum, þæt is Midniht. Fifta is Gallicinium, þæt is Hancred. Syxta is Matutinum vel Aurora, þæt is Dægred. Seofoða is Diluculum, þæt is se ær marien betweox þam Dægrede and sunnan upgange" (Capitals my own). Compare the above with the original, Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, VIII, M. *P. L.*, 90, 323.

(b). Byrhtferð, *Handboc*, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, 26, shows that he knows his Bede:[1]

Seo niht hafað seofon todælednyssa. Crepusculum ys seo forme þæt ys Æfen-gloma, oðer ys Vesperum þæt ys Æfen oððe Hrepsung, þridde Conticinium, þæt is Switima oððe Salnyssa timan, feorðe Intempestivum, þæt ys Midniht oððe Unworclic tima, fifte Gallicinium þæt ys Hancred, þon sceolon gode munecas arisan and gode singan, syxte Matutinum vel Aurora, þæt ys Dægred, þon eac gewuniað þa syfre godes þegnas mid mode and stefne god towurðian and benedictus dñs bliðelice up ahebban. Seo seofoðe ys þære nihte todælednyss Diluculum gecigeð þæt ys ærne mergen betwux Dægrede and þære sunnan uppgange (I again capitalize).

(c). *Supplement* to Ælfric's *Glossary*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, col. 175:

Mane Ærmyrgen	Diluculum Dægred
Crepusculum Tweone	Aurora Dægrima
leoht vel Deorcung	Prima Prim
Conticinium vel Gallicinium	Matutinum Uhten-tid
Hancred	Tertia Undern
Intempesta Nox Midniht	Sexta Middæg
Maligna Lux vel Dubia	Suprema Ofer-non
Tweonul Leoht	oþþe geloten dæg
	Vesperum Æfen
	Serum Bed-tid.

[1] This is natural as Byrhtferð had written a commentary upon Bede's scientific works: (Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 506).

Under (c) I have included for convenience the divisions of the day. Of this Bede gives three main portions—if we can regard as genuine the tractate, *De Divisione Temporis*, M. *P. L.* 90, 656—and is closely followed by Byrhtferð, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, 21:

"Se dæg hæfð þreo todælednyssa. Seo forme hatte Mane, þæt ys Ærne merigen, and seo oðer ys gecweden Meridies, and seo þridde ys geciged Suppremum þæt ys on Æfen oððe seo ytemeste tid."[1]

Each of the more important time-divisions given above will be discussed in connection with the Canonical Cursus.

Anglo-Saxon Horologies.

It is difficult to give briefly the long pedigree of the Horology. Allatius, *De Mensura Temporum*, p. 33 sq., argues that it was known among the Hebrews, discusses the Clepsydra of the Greeks (cf. Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1695; *Acharnians*, 693; *Vespae*, 93; Aristotle, *Poetics*, 7, 11), and shows that water-clocks and sun-dials were known at Rome at the time of the first Punic War (Pliny, VII, Chap. LX). References to Vitruvius, Petronius Arbiter and Censorinus, given by Beaupré Bell, *Archæologia*, VI, 133, and by Gough, *Archæologia*, X, 173, show the antiquity of the Horology.[2]

In a scholarly article, "Recherches sur les Horloges des Anciens" (1716), *Histoire de L'Académie des Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, p. 148, L'Abbé Sallier mentions—citing in each case his authority—the more important time-keepers of early Christian times; the sun-dials of Boethius and of Cassiodorus;

[1] Their Anglo-Saxon names constitute the main interest that these hours have for us. The divisions and their Latin names were known long before Bede. Bede's list follows closely the spaces of time, given by Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum*, I, III, 12, and agrees, in all important particulars, with the hours of the ancients discussed by Lalamantius, "De Tempore," etc., in 1570 (Gronovius, *Thesaurus Graecarum Antiquitatum*, 1701, vol. 9, p. 1047).

[2] Cf. "Galenus ueber Sonnen und Wasseruhren," N. Sauppe, *Philologus*, XXIII (1866), 448.

the handsome clocks, sent by Paul 1st to Pepin le Bref, and by Haroun Alraschid to Charlemagne; the great water-clock for the nightly hours, made by order of Pacificus, Archdeacon of Verona (d. 846); the golden horologe fashioned by Leon the Philosopher for the emperor, Theophilus; and finally the wonderful mechanical invention of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. (circa 1000).

In respect to time-markers, the Anglo-Saxons were not as fortunate as their neighbors. Of water-clocks and sand-glasses they probably knew little. Asser, in describing Alfred's famous candle-expedient (Wise, Ed., p. 67), tells us the straits of the king on cloudy days and on dark nights; and the time-divisions enumerated (*supra*), and many passages in prose and poetry show how entirely the monks and people relied upon the heavens as their guide (Boethius, 39, 13, Fox, 223, 34; Boethius, 4, Fox, 8, 3; Ælfred's *Metres*, IV, 13 (Latin, V, 10); *Blickling Homilies*, 137, 29; 163, 28).

However much the stars and the shadow of the human body[1] may have aided them, the sun-dial was the chief chronometer. In his medley of Latin and Saxon, Byrhtferð (*Handboc*, 114, *Anglia*, VIII, 317) describes the dial or dæg-mæl of his day; on the 6th leaf of the MS. Cott. Tiberius, C. VI, 11th Century, a figure is neatly drawn and named "Horologium Solare" (W. H. Smyth, *Archæologia*, XXXIII, 10); but the Saxon remains in England help us most here. In the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, Vol. XXIX (1873), p. 281, three Saxon dials are pictured and described:

1st. The dial at Kirkdale in Rydale in the North Riding. The writer in the *Journal*, Cuming, does not note that a handsome plate of this was accompanied by an excellent article by Brooke (*Archæologia*, V, 188). The inscription upon this is so valuable a bit of Anglo-Saxon that I append it in toto:

[1] I have discussed at length above an horology with a 6 ft. gnomon. In connection with this, I must refer to a pamphlet by Dr. Foerster, "Ueber Zeitmaase und ihre Verwaltung durch die Astronomie," Berlin, 1872, pp. 20–21 (*Sammlung Wiss. Vorträge*, I Ser., Heft 5).

"Orm · Gamal · suna · bohte · sanctus · Gregorius minster · þonne · hit · wes æl to · brocan ⁊ tofalan. Chehitle ⁊ man (Hübner, from whom Earle translates, *A. S. Literature*, p. 49: "⁊ he hit let man") newan from grunde Christe and Sanctus Gregorius in Eadward dagum cñg · in Tosti dagum eorl."

Under the dial.

"And Haward me wroht and Brand pr̃s."

Around radii of dial

"þis is daeges s(æ)l merca

(To sunn) a Tillum (win)tere(s).[1]

2nd. The dial on the south side of the old Saxon church at Bishopstone, Sussex (Compare *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1840, p. 496, cited by Cuming). Upon it is inscribed the name "Eadric."

3rd. Mural Solarium on south face of nave near porch of Bricet Church, Suffolk, 1096.

Earle (loc. cit.) mentions, upon the authority of Hübner—not accessible to me—several dials with vernacular inscriptions in the North Riding of Yorkshire.

Artificial time-keepers—i. e. clocks, in our sense of the word—were not introduced into England until the end of the 13th Century. With the fine-money of Ralph of Hengham, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, a clock-tower was built near Westminster in 1288 (*Archæologia*, v, 416); MS. Cott. Galba E., iv, 14, fol. 103 (quoted *Archæologia*, xxxiii, 8), mentions among the items of expense at Canterbury Cathedral in 1292, "novum orologium magnum in ecclesia, pretium xxx li;" the "engine of Richard de Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans in 1326, which showed the fixed stars and planets, the ebbing and flowing of the sea, the hours and the minutes of the hours" was justly famous; but the oldest English clock-relic was made in 1340 by Peter Lightfoot, a monk of Glastonbury, for Adam de Sudbury, his abbot (*Archæologia*, xxxiii, 11–12).

[1] The bracketed letters constitute a "very ingenious conjecture" by Mr. Manning of Godelming, cited by Brooke. I am disposed to accept his reading; but Brooke's Chehitle is clearly a Saxon Mrs. Harris.

The artificial system of time in use among the Anglo-Saxons was derived from classical sources (cf. Lalamantius, *Thes. Graec. Antiq.*, Vol. IX, 1047). It has been treated by Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. III; *De Ratione Computus*, II; *De Divisione Temporis*, I; but the only Saxon description is by Byrhtferð (*Handboc*, 115–121, *Anglia*, VIII, 317–318). I give his table:

564 Atoms	make a	Momentum (Styrung).
4 Momenta	"	" Minutum.
2½ Minuta	"	" Punctus (Prica).
4 Puncti	"	" Hora (Tid).
6 Horae	"	" Quadrans (Fyrðling).
4 Quadrantes	"	" Dies (Daeg).

Let us reduce this, for the sake of convenience, to our present standard:

376 Atoms	=	1 Minute.
1 Ostentum	=	1 Minute.
1 Momentum	=	1½ Minutes.
1 Minutum	=	6 Minutes.
1 Punctus (Prica)[1]	=	15 Minutes.
4 Puncti	=	1 Hour.

The guardian of the horology, who, like the παρήτρια of the Greeks, was supposed to announce the hours, was known by various names: "horarum receptor" (Du Cange's *Glossarium* s. v.), "horoscopus" or "daegmaelsceawere" (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 188, 34; cf. note), and perhaps "circa" ('*Concordia Regularis*,' l. 981, Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII). The hours were announced by a bell; *Colloquy of Ælfric*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 103:

Master—"Who awakes you at uhtsong?"

[1]As Bosworth-Toller shows in its excellent treatment of the word, a prica may be also the fifth part of an hour (cf. *Leechdoms*, III, 242, 7; III, 253, 17; Dietrich, *Niedner's Zeitschrift*, XXVI, 165).

Discipulus—"Sometimes I hear the bell (cnyll), and get up; sometimes my master arouses me roughly with a stick."

"Canons of Northumbrian Priests" (950), 36, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 318, "Gif preost on gesetne timan tida ne ringe, etc;" "Canons under Edgar" (960), 45, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 399, "And we læraþ þæt man on rihtne timan tida ringe; Schröer, *Benedictine Rule*, XLIII, p. 67, 20, þæt beacn þæs bellhrinces (signum); XLVIII, p. 72, 8, Rubric, Be getacniendum tidum Godes weorces = Winteney Version, 97, Be þam godcundan tyde hu careful sceal beo þeo bellringestre, þat hig beon ariht geringde; XLVIII, 72, 11, 14; *Concordia* (*Anglia*, XIII), l. 212, 218, 247, 256, 274, 360, 408, 592, 725, 964; Assmann, *Homilies*, XIV, l. 106, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 168. This will be discussed under None.

Length of Sunday.[1]

Both the seventh and first days of the week were rest-days under the old dispensation (Exodus, XII, 16), and the meaning of "Sabbatum" is, therefore, not a little confused in the early English monuments. Of the many examples that present themselves, I select a few from the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels:* Matt., XII, 8,—*τοῦ σαββάτου*,—Vulgate, Sabbati, Corpus MS. restedæges, Hatton MS. restes-dayges, Lindisfarne Gloss, to sunna-dæ and to sæternes-dæg, wæs ðæra Judea sunna-dæg; Mark, XV, 42,—*παρασκευὴ ὃ εστι προσάββατον*,—Vulg. Parasceve quod est ante Sabbatum; Corp. Hat., þæt is ær sæterdæge, Rushworth MS., Lind. Gl., þæt is fore sunna-dæg; Luke, XXIII, 54,—*σάββατον ἐπέφασκε*,—Vulg., Sabbatum illucescebat, Corp. Hat., sæterdæg onlyhte, Rush, Lind. Gl., sunnadæg inlixade (Rush. -ende); Luke, XXIII, 56,—*τὸ μὲν σάββατον*,—Vulg., et quidem Sabbato, Corp. Hat., on sæterndæg, Rush, synna-dæg, Lind. Gl., sunna-dæg. In Bede, *Eccl.*

[1] Most of the material given in this discussion has been already printed by me in an Article upon "The Anglo-Saxon Sabbath," *Nation*, Vol. 56, No. 1448, March 30, 1893.

Hist., III, XIV (17), 208, 2, mention is made of "one of the rest-days that is now called Sunday."

This consideration of the regard paid to Sunday as a Jewish Sabbath will prepare us for the discussion to follow. Bede *De Temporum Ratione*, VI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 313, directs "that the English Sabbath, like the Jewish, be observed from evening to evening." The Anglo-Saxon laws are the chief testimony to this observance: compare Withred (697 A. D.), Thorpe, *A. L.*, 17, Schmid, 16; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XVII, 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 283; XXXVIII, 8, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 298. At a later day the Sabbath rest was extended to include the time between Saturday at None and Monday's dawn: compare Edgar's Laws, II, 5, Schmid, 188, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 112; Canute, I, 14, Schmid, 262, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 157. What was the reason for this change? Lingard tells us (*History of Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. 1845, I, 341): "At a later period, some time before the reign of Edgar, though probably no change had taken place in the ecclesiastical computation, the freedom of the Sunday was enlarged in favor of the working population." This could be debated; but another question presents itself. Why did Sunday receive honor in the Anglo-Saxon Church? Two answers are ready from Anglo-Saxon churchmen:

(1). Ælfric, whose conservatism is well known, holds to the teaching of the Fathers (*Homilies*, II, 206, 30): "Saturday was called rest-day until Christ's passion. On that day Christ's body lay in the tomb, and he arose from death on Sunday, and this day is the day of rest to all Christian men, and holy, on account of Christ's resurrection. We must ever celebrate this day with spiritual honor," etc.

(2). There were, however, other churchmen at this period who were not unaffected by the theories that had filtered into the Church a few centuries before (Alcuin, *Lib. de Divinis Officiis*, XXVII, M. *P. L.*, 101, § 487, p. 1226). One of these was the strong advocate of the Sunday observance in the collection of homilies classed under the name of Wulfstan. He agrees, of course, with the views of Ælfric (XLIV, 222, 28),

but to him the Lord's resurrection was not the only thing that made Sunday a rest-day. The catalogue of Scriptural events that he gives shows the blending of the Jewish Sabbath with the rest-day of the new dispensation: XLIII, 210, 10, "On this day (sunnan-dæg) was Adam the first man created, and on this day Moses and his troop crossed the Red Sea dry-shod. On this day the Lord began to feed the people with manna, the heavenly meat. The Lord said: 'Six days are given you to labor, but the seventh is the holy rest-day;'" XLIII, 211, 11, "On Sunday was Christ baptized, and on the same day the Spirit descended upon his Apostles."

The Wulfstan homilist follows the laws of his day in directing that the holy Sunday be observed "fram non-tide þæs sæterndæges oð monandæges lihtinege" (XLIII, 207, 10). Compare XLIII, 205, 8; 208, 10 (the very words of Canute's law); 210, 3, 10; 211, 10, 15, 18, 28–29; 212, 7; XLIV (37), 219, 11, 25; 220, 1, 20; 222, 1, 14, 30; 225, 14, 27; XLV (38), 230, 10; L (35), 272, 14; LVII, 293, 2; 296, 30. He had other than legal reasons in favor of the correctness of this observance. Very strong proof is found in the testimony of Nial, the Scotch deacon (Wulfstan, XLIII, 211, 27), who had enjoyed the exceptional privilege of a five-weeks' visit to Paradise, and had declared upon his return, "that God was violently opposed to any work between None, Saturday and Monday's dawn." Another homilist of 150 years later had even stronger support (Morris, *Old English Homilies*, 1st Ser., E. E. T. Soc., Vols. 29, 43, IV, p. 44; *Early English Specimens*, I; III, A. 20, 80). The Lord is made to say: "Arise now, Paul, arise; I grant rest, according to your request from Saturday at None until Monday's dawn, even until Domesday."

Sunday was doubtless strictly observed among the Anglo-Saxons. The Laws, in many places, forbid trading, hunting, travelling, marriage and executions upon the Lord's Day. We have besides a remarkable bit of evidence from the early eleventh-century *Colloquy of Ælfric*, Wright-Wülker, *Vocabu-*

laries, I, 92. The hunter is asked: "Did you hunt to-day?" He replies: "I did not because it is Sunday, but yesterday I hunted."

The Canonical Hours.

Bouterwek has devoted a chapter of his *Cædmon* (Chap. VII, pp. CLXXIX–CXCII) to "Das Benediktiner Officium," and Fosbroke in his *British Monachism*, 3rd Ed., 1843, Chap. IV, p. 28 sq., has discussed in detail the *Concordia Regularis* (*Constitutions of Æthelwold*).[1]

This does not preclude a treatment of the subject from a point of view, so different as my own. Consistently with the general object of my paper, the Canonical Hours will be viewed rather as divisions of the temporal day than as points of time, having no significance save as seasons of prayer, and deriving their only importance from the scriptural events they recalled.

The history of the Canonical Hours in the early church has been fully traced (cf. Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s. v. "Hours of Prayer"); a few citations from the Fathers are all-sufficient to show their origin. Tertullian, "De Jejuniis," M. *P. L.*, 2, Chap. X, p. 1007, mentions three Hours of Prayer, "tertia," "sexta" and "nona;" Cyprian, M. *P. L.*, 4, 559, and Clement of Alexandria, M. *P. G.*, 2, 455, give the same number; Origen, "De Oratione," Chap. XII, M. *P. G.*, 11, p. 457, names "sexta hora (Acts X, 9), mane (Ps. V, 4), vesperum (Ps. CXL, 2), and nocturnum (Mark, I, 35"); Jerome, "Epistles," 22, M. *P. L.*, 22, p. 422, five, "tertia," "sexta," "nona," "diluculum" and "vesperum;" but in "Epistle 30," loc. cit., 1119, he excludes "diluculum" in favor of "media nox;" *Apostolic Constitutions* (end of 4th Century), Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1870, p. 247, differs from

[1] In *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893, I have endeavored to put beyond question the identity of these works; and to show, by internal and external evidence, that Æthelwold was the author.

Jerome in substituting "gallicinium" for "diluculum;" in *Benedictine Rule* (c. 530), M. *P. L.*, 66, the seven Hours, "matutinae, prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vesperum et completorium," are now firmly established, and the lists of Gregory the Great (d. 604), M. *P. L.*, 78, p. 537, and of Chrodegang (d. 766), M. *P. L.*, 88, 1066 (cited by Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXXXV) are complete. Ælfric recognizes the antiquity of the Hours, *Pastoral Letter*, 30, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 456–457: "Four synods (in this case the four great Oecumenical Councils) appointed all the services which we have in God's ministry, at mass, at matins, and at all the Canonical Hours" ("To mæssan and to uhtsange and to eallum tidsangum").

With this short sketch of the Hours before us, we are better prepared to consider them in the Anglo-Saxon Church. I mention the main instances of their occurrence in church literature:

1. *Excerptions of Ecgbert*, XXVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 328: "Prima est nocturnalis synaxis; secunda prima hora diei; tertia ipsa est hora quam tertiam vocamus; quarta vero sexta hora; quinta nona hora est; 'sexta autem synaxis vespera hora est;' septimam namque synaxim completorium vocitamus."

2. *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XVI: "Matutino (Gloss, 'Æftersangum;' Translation, 'Dægredsangum'), Prima (Gloss and Trsl., 'Primsang'), Tertia (G. T., 'Undernsang'), Sexta (G. T., 'Middægsang'), Nona (G. T., 'Nonsang'), Vespera (G. T., 'Æfensang'), and Completorium (G. T., 'Nihtsang')."[1]

3. *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXCIV, "Ærest on ærne morgen, and eft on undern-tid, and on midne dæg, and on non, and on æfen, and on foranniht, and on uhtantiman." Aerne morgen includes Dægredsang and Primsang.

[1] The Translation (Grein, *Bibl. der A. S. Prosa*, II) is to be dated about 970 (cf. Article by the writer, *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893), but the earliest MS. is of the first portion of the 11th Century. The Gloss (E. E. T. Soc., 90) is of the same age as the Translation.

4. *Blickling Homilies* (c. 971), Morris, p. 47: "Ærest on ærne morgen, oþre siþe on undern, þridde siþe on midne dæg, feorþan siþe on non, fiftan siþe on æfen, sixtan siþe on niht ær he ræste, seofoþan siþe on uhtan."

5. *Concordia Regularis* (*Constitutions of Æthelwold*)—no collected account:—"Matutina" ("Æftersang," "Dægredsang"), "Prim," "Undern," "Middæg," "Non," "Vesperum" ("Æfen"), and "Completorium" (Logeman, l. 413, "on ytemystre tide riht gesetre").

6. *Canons* of Ælfric, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 444: "Uhtsang and primsang, undernsang and middægsang, nonsang and æfensang and nihtsang seofoþan."

7. Ælfric's *Pastoral Letter*, 31, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 457: "Se forma tidsang is uhtsang mid þam æftersang þe þãrto gebyraþ, primsang, undernsang, middægsang, nonsang, æfensang, nihtsang."

For general notices of the Canonical Hours in the Anglo-Saxon Laws, compare Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXXIX sq.

It is necessary to supplement the above list by a few citations, showing that the Hours are rather services than divisions of time:

Schröer, *Benedictine Rule*, 7, 28; 33, 1; XVIII, 43, 11; 44, 17; XXX, 55, 18: "on gedafenum tidum" ("horis competentibus"); XXXVII, 61, 16–17, "mid heora þygene forhradian þa regolican tida" ("horas canonicas"); XLIII, 67, 17, "to tidsange," *Winteney Vers.*, "to Godes þenunge," Latin, "Ad opus Dei."

Ælfric, *Homilies*, Thorpe, II, 160, 19: "Sum munuc wæs unstæððig on Godes lofsangum, and ne mihte his tidsangas gestandan mid his gebroðrum."

Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXXV (30), p. 171, 14: "Æt ælcum tidsange; LVI (42), p. 290, 17, "and þu ahst to fyllene þine seofon tidsangas under (German, "unter") dæg and niht, þæt is, to ælcan tidsange seofon pr̃ nr̃ . . . . and þe ðe his dægsang cûnne, singe þone, swa he oftost mæge, and his credan ilome, etc."

Previous Treatment of the Canonical Hours.

I shall review, as briefly as possible, previous discussions of the Anglo-Saxon Hours.

Spelman, *Concilia*, (1639), 577, 19, gives Latin equivalents of the Saxon names of the hours; his translation of "Uhtsang" by "Cantus antelucanus" is interesting. The *Benedictine Service* was printed in an Appendix to Hickes' *Letters to a Popish Priest* (1705), and received numerous explanatory notes from the hands of William Elstob. His definitions of the Hours are suggestive, but not always correct:

(1). On ærne morgen—Early in the morning at break of day or the first hour (Prime); (2). Underntid—3rd Hour—Verstegan's "afternoon" translation (*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, p. 234) is disproved; (3). Middæg—Midday; (4). Non—Hora nona (3 p. m.); (5). Æfen—Even (12th hour), so-called because it even'd the civil day; (6). Foranniht—probably 9 p. m.; (7). Uhtan—Midnight (so-called because the twenty-four hours were run out).

Elizabeth Elstob, *Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory* (1709), p. 40, quotes from the *Psalter of St. Augustine* (see M. *P. L.*, XXXVII) the hymns for the different Hours. The Editor of Sir John Fortescue's work, *The Difference between an Absolute and a Limited Monarchy* (1714), p. 143, note, places Uhtsang at 3 a. m., Æfensang at 9 p. m., and Nihtsang at Midnight. Johnson's *Canons of the English Church* appeared in 1720; the following is his Cursus: Uhtsang—Mattins or Nocturns; Prime Song—7 o'clock; Undernsong—9 o'clock; Middaysong—12 o'clock; Noonsong—3 o'clock; Evensong—6 o'clock; Compline—9 o'clock. Baron's Notes to his Edition of Johnson (1850) will be considered presently.

Waterland, in his MS. Notes to Somner's *Dictionary*, availed himself of Johnson, but his lists of the Hours were drawn from the "Blickling MS.," Ælfric's *Canons*, Wycliffe, Hugues, *De Ecclesiae Mysteriis* (12th Cent., M. *P. L.*, CLXXVII), *Psalter*

of Gregory the Great (cf. Wanley, *Catalogue*, p. 172), etc. Peck's division of the Roman day and night (*Desiderata Curiosa*, 1779, Vol. I, 224) is at once so interesting and so minute, that—although it is not in every case applicable to Anglo-Saxon times—I shall follow it in detail:

"Prima Vigilia—1st Hour = Solis Occasus; 2nd Hour = Crepusculum Vespertinum or Evening twilight; 3rd Hour = Ὀψέ; Service = Evensong.

"Secunda Vigilia—1st Part = Prima fax = Candle light; 2nd Part = Prima Nox; 3rd Part = Concubium or Bed-time; 4th Part = Somnus Tempestivus; 5th Part = Ad Mediam Noctem; Service—Officium Completorium.

"Tertia Vigilia—1st Part = Media Nox; 2nd Part = De Media Nocte; 3rd Part = Gallicinium = 2 a. m.; 4th Part = Conticinium (Cock now silent); Service—Officium Matutinum Vesperum.

"Quarta Vigilia—1st Part = Πρώς, Diluculum or Dawn; 2nd Part = Crepusculum Matutinum; 3rd Part = Ἠώς or Aurora—Morning light; 4th Part = Exortus Solis (6 a. m.); Service—Officium Horae Matutinae or Matins.

"Hours of the Day—Mane Plenum (6–9)—Service = Primesong; Tempus Antemeridianum = Forenoon (Undernoon is discussed; see *infra*); Service = Terce; Meridies (12–3)—1st Part = Medius Dies; 2nd Part = De Meridie; Service = Officium Horae Sextae; Tempus Postmeridianum = Overnoon; Service = Officium Horae Nonae."

Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium*, Glossary, s. v. "Hours," has given many useful references to the Canonical Services. Fosbroke's division of the *Concordia* services (*British Monachism*, p. 28 sq.) is as follows: (1). Unthsang (sic) embraces Mattins and Lauds—Midnight to Primsang (6 a. m., Prime). (2). Duties from Primsang to Undersang (Tierce, about 9 a. m.). (3). Undersang to Middægsang (Sext, about 12). (4). From Middægsang to Nonsang (Nones, about 2 or 3 p. m.). (5). From Nonsang to Æfensang (Vespers, Lucernarium, about 4 p. m.). (6). From Æfensang to Nihtsang (Complin,

2nd Vespers, 7 p. m.). Baron, in his excellent note to the 19th Canon of Ælfric (1850 Edition of Johnson's *Collection of Laws and Canons*, I, p. 393), defines the Equinoctial Hours thus: Uhtsang (Midnight); Lofsang = Æftersang or Dægredlice Lofsangas (2–3 a. m.); Primsang (6–7 a. m.); Undernsang = Tertia (8–9 a. m.); Middægsang = Sexta (11–12 a. m.); Nonsang (2–3 p. m.); Æfensang (6–7 p. m.); Completorium (8–9 p. m).

With Baron's divisions, my own,[1] in the main, correspond: Uhtsang, Lofsang and Æftersang, 2–6 a. m.; Prime, 6 a. m.; Undern, 8–9 a. m.; Middæg, 11–12 a. m.; Non, 2–3 p. m.; Æfen, 4–5 p. m.; Completorium, 6 p. m.

My Horology table shows, however, that Undern and None, being equally distant from 12 o'clock, were counted usually at 9 a. m. and 3 p. m. As Æfen is the 11th Hour, I have placed it from 4–5 p. m., and Completorium, the 12th hour at 6 p. m., but the services of these periods were doubtless later, probably at the time indicated by Baron. Durand, *Rationale*, v, 2, p. 138, tells us that "under Prime two hours were reckoned, the first and second (6–8 a. m.); under Terce, three (8–11 a. m.); under Sext or Midday, three, the sixth, seventh and eighth (11 a. m.–2 p. m.); under None, two (2 p. m.–4 p. m.); Vespers occupy the 11th (4–5 p. m.), and Completorium, the 12th (5–6 p. m.). But Durand is defining the so-called Canonical Spaces,—to be distinguished from the several hours. Compare Canonical Hours, Horstman's *Lives of the Saints*, E. E. T. Soc., 87, xxxvi, p. 225, l. 217 sq.; "York Hours of the Cross," E. E. T. S., 71 (1879), p. 82; *Lay Folks Prayer Book*, E. E. T. S., 105 (1895); *Minor Poems of Vernon MS.*, E. E. T. S., 94 (1892), p. 37.

At this point some reference to Canonical Hours on the Continent is necessary. The "Gebet and Tischreden" in Wackernagel's *Altdeutsche Predigten und Gebete*, 1876, are from Basel MS., B. xi, 23, of 14th Century (p. 561 sq.):

[1] Let it be remembered that these are Equinoctial divisions and will vary with the seasons (cf. Horology, *supra*).

Rubrics, p. 561, "Zů metten zeit als unser herre gevangen wart;" p. 562, l. 50, "Zu prime zit alz unser herre von gerihtes stunte;" p. 563, l. 90, "Zu tercie zit als unser herre mit růten und mit geuscheln geschlagen wart;" p. 565, l. 140, "Zů sexte zit als unser herre sin cruze zu der marter trůg;" p. 566, l. 205, "Zu none zit alz unser herre stunt an dem cruze;" p. 566, l. 244, "Zu nonzit starb Jesus an dem crutz;" p. 568, l. 273, "Zu vesperzit als unser herre aber dem cruzte genomen wart;" p. 570, l. 364, "Zu completenzit als unser herre in dz grap geleit wart." The *Oxforder Benediktinerregel*, Sievers, Halle, 1887 (Abdruck aus dem *Tübinger Decanals programn*),[1] contains numerous examples of the German names of the Hours.

The French "Heures Canoniales" will be cited from time to time in connection with the several Hours.

Number and Symbolism of the Canonical Hours.

In the *Roman Breviary*, published by Pius V (1566), and revised by Clement VIII (1592) and Urban VIII (1623) (Marquis of Bute, 1879), the division of the ecclesiastical day is as follows (p. 235 sq.): Mattins (subdivided into 1st, 2nd and 3rd Nocturns), Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline. It will be noticed that this gives eight divisions instead of seven, and that Mattins and Lauds are two distinct tides. Upon the relation of Mattins (Uhtsang) and Lauds (Dægredsang) will rest much of the discussion to follow.

That the Canonical Hours should be seven in number seemed to early churchmen attested by the scriptures (Hickes, *Letters to a Popish Priest*, Appendix): David had said (*Psalms*, 119, 164): "Seven times a day do I praise Thee because of Thy righteous judgments." The gifts of the Holy Ghost were seven in number (Luke, xi, 26; Matt., xii, 45).

[1] This version, Cod, Laud Misc., 237, Bodleian, is, like the "Winteney," a feminine one, traced by Sievers, p. ix, to the Eberbach circle of Nunneries, and bears the stamp of the 14th Century speech of South and Middle Nassau.

A just man falleth seven times a day and riseth again (Proverbs, XXIV, 16). There were seven deadly sins (Proverbs, XXVI, 25), seven trumpets of Jericho (Joshua, VI), seven stars, seven churches, and seven golden candlesticks (Revelations, I). Each of these all-convincing arguments from example would be cited by ritualist or homilist.

The reason for eight hours is given by Durand, *Rationale*, V, 1, p. 137: "Esdras divided day into 1st, 3rd, 6th and 9th Hours, night into vespers, completorium, nocturns and diluculum (laudes matutinae)." The prompt observance of the Lauds at dawn, demanded by the *Benedictine Rule* (XVI), was in Durand's day complied with only by those who were blinded by a halo of apocryphal glory (compare Durand, V, 4, 1, p. 152).

Let us now consider the changes in the "septenarius sacratus numerus" occasioned by an imperfect conception of the relation between the midnight confessional and the morning Lauds. Gregory of Tours (540–594), *Historia Francorum*, VIII, par. 387, M. *P. L.*, 71, p. 459: "Expergefactus vero circa medium noctis cum ad cursum reddendum surgerem." "Ad cursum reddendum" cannot be taken strictly as placing Midnight among the Canonical Hours, for Gregory, a reliable authority on account of his work, *De Cursibus Ecclesiastis*, gives in his *Vitae Patrum*, par 1187, M. *P. L.*, 71, p. 1043, an assured place to Matins. Chrodegang, M. *P. L.*, 88, 1066, couples Matins with Diluculum and makes no mention of the Midnight Vigil.

The *Benedictine Rule* (VIII, XI, XVI) does not include Uhtsang or Vigils among the Canonical Hours, and therefore does not appear to observe with it the same strictness as with the others. It could be shortened to insure a prompt beginning of the Matins at day-break; and, in order that the monks might not be deprived of their meed of sleep, they were not compelled to rise promptly at Midnight ("ut modice amplius de media nocte pausentur"). Æftersang or Dægredsang (Matutini) is, however, always a distinct Canonical Hour in

the Rule; a collection of examples from both the Translation (Schröer, *Bibliothek der A. S. Prosa*, II) and the Gloss (Logeman, E. E. T. Soc., 90) will show plainly the relation it bore to Uhtsang:

(Translation).

Uhta—IX, p. 33, l. 7, uhtsang ("Winteney," 43, 19, utsang); VIII, 32, 47, æfter þam uhtsange (post vigilias); VIII, 32, 20, se ærest þæs uhtsanges ("Winteney," 43, 12, þæs uhtsanges time) = hora vigiliarum; VIII, 32, 21, betwyh þæm uhtsange and þæm dægredsange—no lemma; IX, 33, 17, æt þæm uhtsange ("Winteney," 45, 3, æfter þan uhtsangan) = in vigiliis; IX, 34, 3, se nihtlica uhtsang = vigilie nocturne; X, 34, 5 (Rubric), Hu on Sumere seo nihtlice tid to healdenne sy ("Winteney," 45, 13, hu me sceall singe uhtsang on Sumerliche time) = Nocturna laus, etc., etc.

Dægred—VIII, p. 32, l. 21, and þæm dægredsange—no lemma; VIII, 33, 1, dægredsange = matutini; XI, 35, 23, dægeredsang = matutinos; XI, 36, 10, dægredsanges = matutinorum solemnitas; XIII, 37, 5, dægredsanges weorðung = matutinorum solempnitas, etc., etc.

(Gloss).

Uhta—VIII, p. 37, l. 8, æfter uhtsange = post vigilias; VIII, 37, 12, tid uhtsanga = hora vigiliarum; IX, 38, 15, æt uhtsangum = in vigiliis; IX, 39, 8, nihtlice uhtsangas = vigilie nocturne; X, 40, 3, to nihtlicum uhtsangum = ad vigilias nocturnas. Compare XI, 40, 8; XV, 45, 14; XVI, 46, 9; XVII, 47, 1; XVIII, 49, 7; XVIII, 51, 7.

Æftersang—VIII, 37, 14, merigenlice lofsang = matutini; XI, 41, 15, mergenlice lof = matutinos; XII, 42, 9, on mergenlicum lofsangum = in matutinis; XIII, 43, 1, æftersanga = matutinorum; XVII, 47, 1, meriendlice lofsangas æftersanges = matutinis. Compare XIII, 44, 6; XV, 46, 5; XXXV, 66, 13.

With the above must be compared the glossed text of the *Concordia Regularis* (*Anglia*, XIII), whose author Æthelwold

was the translator of the *Benedictine Rule* (*Modern Language Notes*, June, 1893):

Concordia, l. 220, 449, 523, 933, Uhtsang = nocturna; 1014, uhtsanglic = nocturnus; l. 449, 450, 528, 663, 904, 944, 974, æftersang = matutina; 476, æftersingallice = matutinales; 243, to uhtlicum lofsangum = ad matutinales laudes; 388, 689, 870, dægredsang = matutinus; 507, dægredlice lofu.

In the other Anglo-Saxon lists of Canonical Hours, we have quite a different arrangement. In the *Benedictine Service* (Bouterwek's *Cædmon*, I, CLXXI) and the *Blickling Homilies*, Uhtsang is one of the Hours (cf. the "nocturnalis synaxis" of Ecgbert), but Dægredsang or Æftersang has become a part of the Ær-morgen service. In the *Canons* and *Pastoral Letter* of Ælfric, Dægredsang is united with Uhtsang as the "Æftersang þe þārto gebyraþ." In the last case, which is by far the more natural change (compare Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, VIII, Miller's Ed., p. 284, l. 9), Uhtsang assumes the meaning of Matins. In either case Uhtsang has risen to the dignity of a Canonical Hour, a position that it never held in the *Benedictine Rule*.

The order of services in the *Concordia* is as follows: "Three orations, followed by Nocturns, to which were added its Lauds; then the Matutinales Laudes were sung in the time between dawn and sunrise (in lucis crepusculo), Prime beginning with the light of day." Nothing, however, is said of an "early morning service," including Dægred and Prime (Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 29). The *Concordia* is closely followed by the monks mentioned in the glossed *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, I, 101): "Manega þingc ic dyde. on þisse niht þa þa cnylle ic gehyrde ic aras on minon bedde and eode to cyrcean and sang uhtsang (nocturnam) mid gebroþrum æfter þa we sungon be eallum halgum and dægredlice lofsangas (matutinales laudes) æfter þysum prim, etc."

The order of services in all cases remained the same; the difference between them was only one of name.

To sum up, I have shown that Uhtsang or Nocturns, formerly only Vigils, became a separate Canonical Hour in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and that, although Uhta might include Nocturns and Dægredsang, or Ær-morgen include Dægredsang and Prime, the strict number of Hours never exceeded seven.

The Hours of the Canons were fraught with symbolism to the mediæval monk. Not only was a special significance given to each period by some circumstance in the Saviour's passion, but the stages of the world and the periods of human life were represented by the Hours.

Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 74, translating from Gregory's 19th Homily, M. *P. L.*, 76, 1154 (Förster, "Ueber die Quellen von Ælfrics Exegetischen Homiliae Catholicae," § 43, *Anglia*, XVI, 3), tells us, in connection with the Parable of the Vineyard: "Eornostlice se ær-merigen wæs fram Adam oð Noe, se undern fram Noe oð Abraham, se middæg fram Abraham oð Moysen, se non fram Moyse oð Drihtnes to-cyme, seo endlyfte tid fram Drihtnes acennednysse oð ende þises middaneardes." Compare Durand, *Rationale*, v, 1, p. 137.

Ælfric continues (II, 76): "We magon eac ðas ylcan mislicnyssa ðæra foresædra tida to anum gehwylcum menn þurh his ylda tidum todaelan. Witodlice ures andgites merigen is ure cildhad, ure cnihthad swylce undern-tid, on þam astihð ure geogoð, swa swa seo sunne deð ymbe ðære ðriddan tide; ure fulfremeda wæstm swa swa middæg, forðan ðe on midne dæg bið seo sunne on ðam ufemestum ryne stigende swa swa se fulfremeda wæstm bið on fulre strencðe þeonde. Seo non-tid bið ure yld forðan ðe on nontid asihð seo sunne, and ðæs ealdigendan mannes mægen bið wanigende. Seo endlyfte tid bið seo forwerode ealdnyss þam deaðe genealæcende, swa swa seo sunne setlunge genealæhð on þæs dæges geendunge."

This interpretation of the Parable is repeated in *Kentish Sermons* (Laud MS. 471), "Dominica in Sexagesima," *O. E. Miscellany* (E. E. T. S., 50, p. 34). Durand, *Rationale*, v, 1,

137, institutes the same comparison: (1). Infantia = Matutinae Laudes. (2). Pueritia = Prima. (3). Adolescentia = Tertia. (4). Juventus = Sexta. (5). Senectus = Nona. (6). Senium = Vesperae. (7). Decrepita Aetas = Completorium.

Each Canonical division will now be considered in turn, and the introductory discussion supplemented by matter more appropriate to the consideration of the several hours than to a general view of the whole.

Uhta.

The etymology of the word Uhta, given by Elstob (Appendix to Hickes' *Letters to a Popish Priest*), is ingenious enough to deserve notice: "Gothic uhtwo and Runic otta (Norse) convince us that Uhta derived its name from the fact that the four and twenty hours were run out and the civil day was compleat." Elstob suggests also a connection with "uhtelun (sic), timebant, Mark, XI, 32, uht-tid being the dread time of night and full of horror." Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Stalleybras, II, 747, regards the root as unexplained. Later scholars seem well-agreed over its history: Uhta, dawn; Old Norse, ôtta; O. H. G., uhta; Gothic, ūhtwo; uhteigs < Germanic type, unχtwon < Idg. base, n̥qtun > Sanskrit, aktu (brilliance); Greek, *ἀκτίς* (beam) (Fick, *Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprache*, 1876, VII, 9, v, 297; Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildung*, p. 140).[1]

Grimm (loc. cit.) gives the time of Uhta: "The very first glimmer of dawn, or strictly speaking, that which precedes it, the latter end of night, is expressed by the Gothic uhtwo (Greek, *ἔννυχον*), Mark, I, 35." The Vulgate reads here "mane noctu valde," and the Anglo-Saxon versions, "swiþe ær." Spelman's translation of Uhtsang, "Antelucanus" (*Concilia*, 577) is correct, and true of all Saxon observance.

[1] George Hempl, *Modern Language Notes*, November, 1891, derived N. H. G. nüchtern from ne-uoht-nar-in, the third element appearing in N. H. G. nahren. The use mentioned by Fick (loc. cit.) in M. H. G. supports this view (cf. Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1876, s. v. "Uht-weide").

Ælfric's *Vocabulary*, Wright-Wülker, 129, 32, gives—like Ælfric's *Canons* and *Pastoral Letter*—Matutinum as the Latin equivalent of Uhtgebed (cf. Wright-Wülker, 175, 40).

It is difficult to define closely the position of Uhta. In ecclesiastical usage, it varied at different seasons of the year (*Benedictine Rule*, Chap. VIII); but it meant doubtless, to churchman and layman, the darkest portion of the night, the hour before the dawn (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 450, 3, Matutinum = Uht-tid sive beforan dæge; Beowulf, 126, Andreas, 235, 1390, Elene, 105, on uhtan mid ærdæge; Satan, 404–406, 465, on uhtan ær dægrede), the time associated in Anglo-Saxon poetry with "eald uhtsceaþa" (Beowulf, 2271) and "ealdes uhtflogan" (Beowulf, 2760).

One meaning that Uhta could never assume has been ascribed to it by Thorpe and Bouterwek. In Ælfric's "Homily on the Assumption of St. John, the Apostle," Thorpe, I, 74, we are told that the Apostle "on Sunnan-uhtan ærwacol (Thorpe, 'at sunrise, early rising') to þære cyrcan com and þam folce from hancred oð undern Godes gerihta lærde and him mæssan gesang." Ælfric uses the expression, "sunnan-uhtan" again in his *Pastoral Letter*, 44: "And ge sculon singan sunnan-uhtan and mæsse-uhtan, etc." Wilkins, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicae* (1721), p. 161, renders this, "ad solis ortum et missae initium." Thorpe, *A. L.*, 461, translates: "And ye should sing sunrise matins and mass matins." Bouterwek's rendering (*Cædmon*, CLXXXII) is similar: "Und ihr sollt singen die Metten bei Sonnenaufgang und die Frühmesse."

There are many reasons why Sunnan-uhtan should not be rendered "sunrise." (1). Uhtsang must end at dawn, and the period, Uhta, always precedes the light. (2). The context in the Homily passage shows that Sunnan-uhtan can mean only Sunday morning before day (notice that the period precedes Hancred). Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 14a/299, Gloss, 283, and Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, p. 213, Note to p. 84, 10–11, give the proper meaning. (3). John's action was so common

among holy men that there can be little doubt of the time of these devotions. Bede tells us, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, X, Miller, p. 188, 7: "Sægdon þætte þa men þa hit cuðon þæt he oftost fram þære tide þæs uhtlican lofsonges oð hluttorne dæg in gebedum astode awunade." Id., IV, XXI, 318, 22: "Symle gif hire hefigre untrymnesse ne bewere of þære tide uhtsanges oð hluttorne dæg in cirican in halgum gebedum stod." Compare Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Skeat, XV, 95, Bright's *Reader*, 101, 13. (4) The use of "sunnandagum and mæssedagum" (*Blickling Homilies*, 47) makes clear the meaning of "Sunnan-uhtan and Maesse-uhtan;" and a passage from Wulfstan's *Homilies* (Napier, LVIII, p. 305, l. 21) is conclusive: "Nagan læwede men þurh hæmed þinge gif hi Godes miltse habban willaþ wifes gemanan sunnan-nihtum ne maesse-nihtum ne wodnes-nihtum ne frige-nihtum." *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. 1021, "Cristes maesse-uhtan" can mean only, "on Christmas before day." Thus the expressions "Sunnan-uhtan and Maesse-uhtan" are to be translated, "at Uhta on Sunday and Mass-days."[1]

A very peculiar use of the word is found in the *Leechdoms*, II, 346: "On gang þe aweg, gang eft to þonne dæg and niht furþum scade, on þam ilcan uhte gang ærest to ciricean." It should be noted that this striking expression, "þonne dæg and niht scade" (cf. *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 18; II, 356, 6), has a classical origin; compare *Durham Ritual*, p. 36, 9: "Deus qui diem discernis a nocte" (Gloss: "God ðv—gesceadas fram næhte"); Ibid., p. 182: "Qui separasti lucem a tenebris" (Gloss: "ðv ð. gesceadest liht fram ðiostrum").

"Ær uhton" (*Leechdoms*, III, 20), rendered wrongly by Cockayne, "before sunrise," is equivalent to the Gothic "air uhtwon" (Mark, I, 35), and has the same meaning as "foran to uhtes" (Cockayne, *Narratiunculae*, p. 15).

A few other instances of the word's occurrence may be cited: On the 24th Moon "on uhtan ȝod mona blod lætan" (*Leech-*

[1] The times of mass are given in MS. Caligula, A. 15, fol. 140b, A. Napier, "Altenglische Kleinigkeiten," *Anglia*, XI, 7.

doms, III, 196, 4); "On uhtatide" (Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Capit. 4, XIV, Miller, 18, 33), and "In uhttide se steorra ætywde se is cometa nemned" (Ibid., IV, XVI, Miller, 300, 1); *Martyr Book*, May 9 (*Shrine*, 83), þonne gangaþ þa seofon steorras on uhtan upp and on æfen on setle.

Uhta in Middle English.

Uhta did not live long in the language, and, unlike many of the other Canonical Hours, it preserved to the last its original meaning. A few of the Bradley-Stratmann examples will show this: Orm is describing the vision of Joseph the Carpenter (l. 2483):

"And Godes engell comm him to
Onn uhtenn þær he sleppte."

And again (Ibid., 5381):

"His Crist ras upp off deeþe
Onn uhtenntid to þridde dæg."

In *Ancren Riwle*, Morton, p. 20, Uhtsang[1] has the meaning of Nocturns.

Hancred.

In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VIII, 34, Cockcrowing is mentioned as one of the regular Hours of Prayer: "At Cockcrowing, because that hour brings the good news of the coming on of the day for the operations proper to light." In Anglo-Saxon days, it was still a time of devotion: Byrhtferð, *Handboc*, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "Gallicinium þæt ys Hancred þon sceolon gode munecas arisan and gode singan;" *Life of St. Guthlac*, by Felix of Croyland, Chap. VI, Goodwin, p. 42: "Ða gelamp hit sumre nihte þa hit wæs hancred and

[1] It is possible that Oughtred (pr. Ŏt′-red), the name of an English divine, 1574–1660 (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, s. v.), may be derived from Uht-red (cf. Dæg-red); but the non-occurrence in literary English of the demanded form, and the changed meaning of Uhta make one hesitate.

se eadiga wer, Guðlac, his uhtgebedum befeal, þa wæs he sæmninga mid leohte slæpe swefed;" *Reden der Seelen*, l. 66, Grein, I, p. 201:

> "Sceal ic þe nihtes swa þeah nede gesecan
> Synnum gesargod and eft sona fram þe
> Hweorfan on hancred þonne halige men
> Lifiendum gode lofsang doð."

The common meaning of Hancred is shown clearly in the Ælfredian version of the *Cura Pastoralis*, Chap. LXXIII, Sweet, p. 458: "Ðæs cocces ðeaw is ðæt he micle hludor singð on uhtan ðonne on dægred. Ac ðonne hit nealæcð dæge ðonne singð he smalor and smicror." Compare with this Gregory's Latin, XXXIX, M. *P. L.*, 77, 124.

Hancred usually indicates Gallicinium. "On Hancrede" translates the Vulgate "Galli Cantu" (Mark, XIII, 35);[1] and the word appears, *Leechdoms*, III, 266, in a connection that leaves but little doubt of its meaning: "Gif he (mona) þonne æfter sunnan setlunge ontend byð, oþþe on middere niht, oþþe on hancrede, ne byð he næfre niwe geteald." Compare Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIV, Miller, 338, 24, ymb honcred; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D., Anno 795, betwux hancraede and dagunge; Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 334, 30, betwux hancrede; II, 334, 35, ealle ða niht oð hancred. The passage, *Leechdoms*, III, 6, presents a difficulty:

"And þonne oniht þonne sumor on tun gæð on mergen þonne sceal se man wacyan ealle þa niht þe þone drenc drincan wille and þonne coccas crawan forman syðe þonne drince he æne, oþre siðe þonne dæg and niht scade, þriddan siðe þonne sunne upga and reste hine syþþan."

Cockayne takes "forman syþe" with "crawan;" but the meaning of "first cockcrow" (*infra*) and coördination in the above passage show that the adverbial phrase qualifies "drince."

Hancred, however, was not only in the morning before day. In the "Glosses" of Mone's *Quellen und Forschungen*,

[1] Here the Lindisfarne MS. reads: "On uhte tide and on honcroed."

B. 4677, Galli-Cantu is glossed by "cwyld-setene," which is elsewhere the gloss of Conticinium (*infra*, s. v.); and in the *Vocabulary* of Ælfric, Wright-Wülker, 175, 36, Hancred translates Gallicinium vel Conticinium, the last named being defined as the third division of the night (Beda,[2] and Byrhtferð; see *supra*). Now it is possible to regard Conticinium as occupying also a place in the early morning—the case, sometimes, in antiquity (Lalamantius, "De Tempore," *Thes. Graec. Ant.*, 1049); but it is more natural to suppose that it retained its early-night position ("cwyld-setene" could never have referred to a morning hour), and was the first of the three cock-crows mentioned, *Leechdoms*, II, 294, 5.[1] Conticinium is doubtless the hour referred to in the Historical Fragment, MS. Cott. Caligula A., XIV, *Leechdoms*, III, 424, where a miracle "embe forman hancred" is described. Symeon of Durham, who tells the same story (Arnold, *Rolls Series*, II, 8), puts the time at "intempesta noctis quiete," the dead of night.

Later cock-crows are helpful here. Chaucer tells us the time of the third cock-crow (Reeve's Tale, A. 4233):

> "Till that the thridde cok began to singe
> Aleyn wax wery in the dawenynge."

Shakspere mentions a first cock-crow (Mid. N's Dream, II, 1, 267; 1 Henry IV, II, 1, 20; Lear, III, IV, 121), probably at Midnight, a second cock-crow at 3 o'clock (Romeo and Juliet, IV, 4, 3; Macbeth, II, 3, 22—Note in *Variorum* Ed.), and a morning cock-crow (Hamlet, I, 2, 218). Shakspere's cocks had been drilled in Tusser's barnyard—*Five Hundred Pointes*

[1] In Matt., XIV, 25, where "embe þone feorþan hancred" renders "Quarta vigilia," the cock is supposed by the translator to crow at every watch; cf. *O. E. Homilies*, 2nd Ser., VI, Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, 39: "On þis niht beð feower niht wecches. Biforen even þe belimpeð to children. Midniht . . . to frumberdlegges, hanecrau . . . þowuene men, morgewile to alde men."

Compare Theocritus, Idyl., XXIV, Lang's Translation, 1892, p. 128, "The cocks were now but singing their third welcome to the earliest dawn."

of Good Husbandrie, 74, *Eng. Dialect Society*, 21 (1878), p. 165 (cf. Hazlitt's Ed. of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, II, 34).

> "At midnight, at three, and an hour near day
> They utter their language as well as they may."

Compare Hazlitt, l. c., for other examples.[1]

The Anglo-Saxon Hancred may be properly regarded as the last portion of Uhta, and be placed roughly at about an hour before Dægred or Dawn.

On Ærne Morgen.

I. *Dægred.*

II. *Prime.*

Ær-morgen may be regarded as extending from Dawn to Undern (Mid-morning). I have, therefore, included under it the two Canonical divisions of Dægred and Prime. A number of examples of the rather generic term, Ær-morgen, are given:

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A°. 538, A., fram ær-mergenne oð undern (B. morgenne, C. E. morgene, F. æran morgen); A°. 678, E. ælce morgen = F. 677, on ærne morgen.

Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XVIII (34), Miller, 92, 3, on ærmergen he iteð hloðe and on æfenne hereof dælað; II, XI (14), 140, 12, from ærmorgenne oð æfen (Giles, 236, 10, a mane usque ad vesperam); V, VI (6), 402, 11, sona in ær-morgen (Giles, 176, 26, mane); V, IX (9), 410, 6, on ærmorgen (Giles, 188, 14, mane). Notice the translator's preference for the compound form found in the Psalter and in "Ælfred's Metres" (Bosworth-Toller, s. v.).

[1] "De fust rooster-crow" of the Southern Negro (T. Nelson Page, *In Ole Virginia*, p. 84) falls, I am informed by a colored authority on the fowl-house, "at midnight," "de secon'" at "fo' day," "de third" at "come day."

The three Spanish cock-crows fall at midnight, day-break and sunset (H. Lang, "The Fowl in Spanish Proverb and Metaphor," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1887).

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Matt., xx, 1, on ærne merigen (cum diluculo); Mark, xvi, 9, on ærne morgen (mane); John, xxi, 4, on ærne mergen (mane autem jam facto).

Old Testament, (Grein's *Bibliothek der A.-S. Prosa*, i), Gen., xix, 15, 27, Deut., xxviii, 67, on ærne mergen (mane); Gen., xxi, 14, on ærne morgen sôna (mane); Ex., xii, 22, ær on morgen (usque mane); Numbers, xvii, 7, on ærne mergen (sequenti die); Joshua, viii, 10, on ærne mergen (diluculo); Job, i (1^5), on ærne marigen (diluculo).

Ælfric's *Homilies*, i, 286, 32, Swa hraðe swa heo (seo sunne) upasprencð on ærne-merigen heo scinð on Hierusalem; ii, 72, 17; 74, 7; 126, 12; 138, 18; 348, 19; 446, 16, on ærne-merigen; ii, 74, 17, se ær-merigen. Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (Skeat), iii, 341, fram ærne marien; vi, 70; x, 123; xi, 52; xi, 235; xxiii, 472, on ærne mergen; xii, 344, on ærne mærgen; xv, 80, on ærne merigen; Ælfric's *Homily on the Book of Judith*, Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, iii, 113, 351, on ærne mergen.

Wulfstan's *Homilies*, vi (13, 14), Napier, 46, 14, ær on morgen (mane).

Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, i, 180; iii, 92, 8, on ærne mergen; i, 224, Chap. cxi, on ærne mergen þonne seo sunne ærest upgange.

Grein's *Sprachschatz* contains many examples of ær-morgen and ær-dæge (s. v.).

I shall now cite a number of the more general expressions for morning:

Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, ii, vi, Miller, 114, 28, sona on marne; iii, i, 154, 34, sona on morne; iii, viii, 182, 28, þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden; iv, iii (3), 272, 2, on morne (Giles, iii, 24, 20, mane); iv, viii (7), 284, 25; iv, xxv (24), 344, 17, on morgenne (mane).

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Mark, i, 35, ær (mane); Mark, xiii, 35, on mergen (mane); Mark, xvi, 2, swyðe ær (valde mane); Luke, iv, 42, ða gewordenum dæge (facta autem die); John, xx, 1, on mergen ær hit leoht wære (mane tenebris adhuc existentibus).

Old Testament, Gen., I, often, morgen; Gen., XXVIII, 18, on mergen þa he ârâs (surgens mane); Gen., XLI, 8, on morgen (facto mane); XLIV, 3, on morgen (orto mane); Ex., X, 13, on morgen (mane facto); Ex. XVI, 13, 21; XXXII, 6, on morgen (mane); Ex. XVI, 20, oð hit morgen wæs (usque mane); Ex., XXIII, 18, oð morgen (usque mane); Num., XVI, 8, on mergen. (The "cras" meaning is frequent in this work; compare *supra*.)

Blickling Homilies, 69, 28; 231, 36, on morgen; 235, 18, þa se morgen geworden wæs; 201, 35; 203, 2; 207, 8, on morgenne; 207, 3, to morgne (to-morrow); 213, 22, morgendæg (morrow); 139, 18; 143, 2, morgenlican.

Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 504, 19, 23; II, 172, 3, 188, 17, on merigen; I, 572, 30, on merien; II, 138, 17, on merigenlicere tide; II, 172, 17, on þære nihte þe se andaga on merigen wæs; II, 182, 33, oð merigen.

Wulfstan's *Homilies*, XXIX (25), Napier, 137, 11, and seo sunne forswyreð sona on morgen and se mona næfð nane lihtincge.

Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 6, 5; III, 8, 3, etc., on mergen; III, 44, often, on morgenne.

I. *Dægred.*

It will be remembered that Bede[2] and Byrhtferð, in their lists of the nightly hours, regarded Dægred as the sixth division, and that Byrhtferð connected with it the songs of praise of the monks. The Blickling homilist mentions the service at this hour (207, 35): "Ac on dægred, siþþan hit frumlyhte hie þyder inwæron to ðam lofsangum gesamnode." The significance of the service itself has been discussed (*supra*).

In Anglo-Saxon times, as now, Dægred was the time that husbandmen went to the fields (*Colloquy* of Ælfric, 90, 13) (Arator): "Eala leof þearle ic deorfe; ic ga ut on dægred (diluculo), þywende oxon to felda and jugie hig to syl" (Gloss).

A few examples of the use of the word may be cited:

Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Luke, XXIV, 1, swyðe ær on dægred = diluculo profundo (ὄρθρου βάθεος); John, VIII, 2, on dægred (diluculo).

Old Testament, Ex., VIII, 20, on dægred (diluculo); Ex., XIV, 23, on dægred (vigilia matutina); Ex., XXIX, 41, æfter þære dægred-offrung (juxta ritum matutinae oblationis).

Blickling Glosses, 64, 9 (B. H., p. 262) [ut-]gang dægeredes: Exitus matutini.

Ælfric employs Dægred in a simile (*Lives of the Saints*, V, 108):

> "Swa swa dægred todræfð þa dimlican þystra
> And manna eagan onlyht þe blinde wæron on niht."[1]

Other examples of Dægred will be found in the poets (cf. Grein's *Sprachschatz*).

Dægred has many equivalents. Aurora is translated (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 175, 52) by Dæg-rima; and this expression, common in poetry (cf. Grein), is found more than once in the prose: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1122, þæt fir hi seagon in þe dæi rime and læste swa lange þe hit wæs liht ofer eall; Schröer, *Ben. Rule*, VIII, 33, 1, upaspringenum dægriman ("Winteney," 43, 15, þonne þæs dæges lyht aȝynd) = incipiente luce; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 442, 33, arisende dægrima. Another word with the sense of Dægred appears in the Shepherd's speech in the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 91, 12), on forewerdne morgen (in primo mane) ic drife sceap mine to heora læse. Cf. "Lihting" (*Wulfstan Homilies*, *supra* sub "Length of Sunday").

Many Anglo-Saxon phrases convey the idea of dawn: Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 1 (2), Miller, 154, 34, sona on morne swa hit dagian ongan (Giles, 264, 11, incipiente diluculo); III, VI (8), 174, 11, þa wæs in þære seolfan nihte

[1] Reum, *Anglia*, X, 482, says of such passages as this: "Weit oft sieht er (Ælfric) sich in den Hom. und den Hlg. Lb. natürlich beeinflusst durch die Sprache der Bibel und der Kirchenväter veranlasst Bilder und Beispiele einzuflechten."

þæm ytemæstan dæle þæt is þa hit dagian ongon (Giles, 174, 32, ipsa autem nocte in cujus ultima parte id est incipiente aurora); III, IX (11), 182, 28, þa hit þa wæs on marne dæg geworden (Giles, 298, 24, mane facto); IV, X (8), 286, 24, þonne dagunge tid cwome (Giles, III, 42, 21, adveniente diluculo); IV, X, 286, 26, ymb þæs dæges upyrne (Giles, III, 42, 22, circa exortum diei); IV, XXIV, 340, 25, swiþe ær in dagunge (Giles, III, 110, 3, primo diluculo); V, XIII (12), 422, 28, in dagunge (Giles, III, 200, 28, diluculo); V, XVII (19), 462, 9, on dagunge (Giles, III, 248, 28, illuscente die). Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, XXI, 172, mid þam þe hit dagode; XXIII, 489, mid þam dæge. Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 206, 1, swylce hit ealle niht dagie.

Crepusculum is glossed, Wright-Wülker's *Vocabularies*, 175, 34, by "tweone leoht vel deorcung," and in the *Concordia*, 475, 508, by "on leohtes þeorcunge." Dægred is the Morning Crepusculum in the technical sense used by Chaucer, *Astrolabe*, II, 6, Skeat, 20, "the spring of the dawyng and the ende of the evenynge, the which ben called the two Crepusculus."

II. *Prime.*

I have already shown that the Anglo-Saxons began their day at Prime or Sunrise (*Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXCVI, on þære forman dæg-tide, þæt is be sunnan upgange). The sunrise-machinery of the poets has been treated by Gummere in his *Anglo-Saxon Metaphor*.

A few prose examples are gleaned from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History:* I, XXI (23), 476, 6, oðer hiora (cometa) foreeode þa sunnan on morgen þonne heo upgangende wæs, oðer on æfenne æfter fyligde þonne heo on setl eode; IV, III (3), 264, 22, from eastsuðdæle heofones þæt is from heanisse þære winterlican sunnan upgonge (Giles, III, 18, 6, ab euro-austro, id est ab alto brumalis exortus); V, XIII (12), 428, 24, suðeast on ðon rodor swa swa seo wintre sunne uppgongeð; V, XIII (12), 424, 20, ongen norðeast rodor swa sunnan upgong bið æt middum sumere.

Byrhtferð tells us something of the Prime service, *Handboc*, 123, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "On þam dæge ys seo forme tid prima gehaten, on þære sceolon gemearcode cnihtas geornlice to gode clypian and þa six tida bliðelice wurðian mid sealmsange godes lof up ahebban. Swa se haliga wer, Ambrosius in dagum cwæð, 'Jam lucis orto sidere,'" etc. This is the hymn at Prime in the *Benedictine Service* (Bouterwek's *Cædmon*, CC). In the *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, 101) the young monk says: "Æfter þysum prim and seofon sealmas and letania and capitos mæssan.

Numerous examples of Primsang present themselves: *Benedictine Rule*, Translation (Schröer), XVIII, 40, 21, to primsange (prima hora); XVIII, 42, 7, to primsange (ad primam); XLVIII, 73, 9, fram primsange (a prima); LXVIII, 115, 13, 14, on þære forman tide þæs dæges, prima hora diei (cf. 115, 14, 15, on þære oðre tide, secunda hora diei); Gloss (Logeman), XV, 45, 16, prim (prima); XVI, 45, 6, primsanges (primae); XVI, 46, 13, primsang (prima); XVII, 47, 5; XXIII, 105, 13, on þære forman tide (prima hora); XVIII, 49, 1, 3, æt primsange (ad primam); XVIII, 48, 14–15, on þære forman tide on sunnandæge (prima hora dominica); XLVIII, 81, 12, fram primsange (a prima); *Concordia* (Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII), 246, 248, 478, 509, 510, 667, 735, 912, 944, prim; 248, primsang.

The "Oratio ad Primam" in the *Durham Ritual* is thus composed: (1). Deus qui ad principium hujus diei nos pervenire fecisti, etc., etc. (2). Domine Deus omnipoteus qui nos in hanc horam matutinam secundam per nocturnas caligines pervenire fecisti. "Hora matutina secunda" implies, perhaps, that Uhtsang was "hora matutina prima;" or else reference may be had to the two hours of which Prime was composed (Durand, *Rationale*, V, 2, p. 138).

In connection with the hours beginning at Prime, I may refer to the daily life of the Virgin, Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, 127, Chap. X, Pseudo Matthaei Ev., line 341 (June 22): "And heo (Maria) gesette hyre sylfre haligne regol swa þæt heo wolde beon fram þære ærestan tide þæs

dæges on hyre halgum gebedum wuniende oð þæt þa þriddan tide and fram þære þriddan tide oð ða nigoþan tide ymbe hyre webb geweorc. And eft fram þære nigoðan tide heo þurhwunode standende on hyre gebedum oð þæt godes encgel hyre ætywde."

Prime in Middle English.[1]

Prime has an interesting history. In the *Ancren Riwle*, p. 20, it appears in Canonical connection, but without its old "sunrise" meaning: "Prime iþe winter erlice, iþe sumor bivor deies;" p. 20 (Morris, *Selections*, IX, 311): "Also efter þe ancre cumplie [aðet prime] vort mid-morwen ne don no þing, ne ne singen hware þuruh hire silence muwe beon i-sturbed." Prime holds its place as a Canonical Hour in the *Holy Rood*, p. 223 (E. E. T. Soc., 46), and in the *Lay Folks Mass Book*, 86 (E. E. T. Soc., 71). Compare Horn, 977, bi pryme; 857, primetide.

Skeat, in his note to *Piers Plowman*, C. IX, 149, discusses the expression "hye prime," and shows that the Natural day (or day by the clock) is referred to. High Prime, Skeat believes, fell at 9 o'clock. Tyrwhit explains, in his note to Canterbury Tales, l. 3904, that the Prime period was a fourth part of the day (6–9 a. m.); and the long list of examples of the Chaucerian use of the expression, given by Skeat, *Astrolabe*, LXII, shows that Prime could be placed either at the beginning or end of this.

In his *Astrolabe* Preface, LXI–LXII, Skeat discusses the passage in the Nonne Preestes Tale, B. 4377, where Chanticleer's worth as a horologe is extolled; I defer to his article, and mention only the lines:

> "Caste up his eyen to the brighte sonne
> That in the signe of Taurus hadde y-ronne
> Twenty degrees and oon, and somwhat more

[1] Of the meaning of Prime we know, thanks to Skeat and Brae, a little more than when W. Carew Hazlitt explained it as Noon (cf. Lowell, "Library of Old Authors," *Essays*, Riverside Press ed., 1892, I, pp. 337–338).

He knew by kynde and by noon other lore
That it was Pryme, and crew with blisful stevene
The sonne, he sayde, is clomben up on hevene
Twenty (Forty) degrees and oon, and more y-wis."

The most superficial reader can see that Prime could not now be six o'clock, as the sun, at this hour, at this date, would not be far from the horizon.

By far the best authority on Chaucer's Prime is Brae, who leaves in his excellent essay on that subject (*Astrolabe*, 90–101) very little else to be said. The opinion of Brae and Skeat that Prime had, usually, at this time, the meaning of 9 o'clock is confirmed by these lines from the King's Quair, v, xx (Rogers' *Poetical Remains of James I*, 1873, p. 69; Skeat's *Specimens of Eng. Lit.*, 1394–1579, p. 386):

"Now hald thy grippis, quoth sche for thy time
An houre and more it rynis over prime
To count the hole, the half is nere away
Spend wele, therefore, the remanant of the day."

An hour or more over Prime or 9 o'clock causes half of the day to be "nere away." The three hours included in the Prime of this period—the Anglo-Saxon Prime included only "ipsa prima et secunda"—were called (Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 224 sq.) Mane Plenum and Spatium orationum primarum.

When Prime acquired the meaning of 9 o'clock, it usurped the place of Undern (*infra*) as a meal hour; compare Shipman's Tale, B. 1396:

"And lat us dyne as sone as that ye may
For, by my chilindre, it is prime of day."

Prime in its earliest signification is not uncommon in later English poetry. Other examples may be added to those given in the *Century Dictionary*, sub "Prime," II, 2:

"Awake; the morning shines and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime," etc.
(Paradise Lost, v, 20.)

"While day arises, that sweet hour of prime."
(Ibid., v, 170.)

"The season, prime for sweetest sents and airs."
(Ibid., IX, 200; compare Newton's Note.)

Tennyson-Turner employs the word in one of his best sonnets, "The Lattice at Sunrise" (Sharp's *Sonnets of this Century*, p. 233):

"Nightly and daily, like the flowing sea,
His lustre pierceth through the midnight glooms;
And at prime hour, behold! He follows me
With golden shadows to my secret rooms."

Undern.

The word Undern is common to all the Teutonic dialects, Fick, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch*, VII, 34:

"An. Undern, Vormittag; Goth. Undaurni-mats, Mittagsessen; A. S. Undarn, Undern; Ags. Undern; Ahd. Untorn, Untarn; Mhd. Undern, Mittag, Mittags-essen."[1]

Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v., "Morgen" assigns to Undaurns the meaning "Mittag." The single Gothic example, Undaurni-mats, translates the Greek ἄριστον ἢ δεῖπνον (prandium aut coenam), so it is impossible to determine the exact meaning in that dialect. According to the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* of Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874), the word occurs five times in Old Norse—once in the sense of mid-afternoon, twice as mid-forenoon, and twice as a meal-time, and is not found in provincial Icelandic of to-day. In Scandinavia (Ibid.) and in Bavaria (Schade, *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1872, s. v.) the word is used to indicate a "middle-meal," taken either in the forenoon or in the evening. Before the word had passed out of German literary use, it lost its old "morning" meaning and was equivalent to Merenda or Nach-

[1] Undern may possibly be connected with un-dyrne ("not dark") since it was the full morning hour. The forms of the word in other dialects rather sustain than oppose this view of its origin.

mittags (Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, 1876, s. v.). The *Century Dictionary* shows that Undern means literally "the intervening time" (< Under = between) and gives two divisions of its use in provincial or obsolete English: (1). Nine o'clock in the morning; the period from nine o'clock to noon; the canonical hour of terce. (2). Noon or afternoon; also a noon-meal. With this necessary introduction, I can begin my study of Undern.

Undern in Anglo-Saxon.

Undern meant to the Anglo-Saxon the time midway between Sunrise and Midday, and was to the morning what None was to the afternoon (Horology). The "Martyr Book," *Shrine*, 79, says, "On þa þriddan tid dæges ðæt is on undern," and the Benedictine service (Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXIV) gives a characteristically symbolical reason why Undern should be celebrated: "Undern is dæges þriddan tide þonne is eac rihtlic þæt we to þære þriddan tide þa halgan þrynesse georn lice herian." Undern is always the gloss to Tertia Hora: Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 175, 44; *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XV, 45, 16, undersang = tertia; XVI, 46, 13, undernsanc = tertia; XVII, 47, 10, undersanges = tertie; XVIII, 48, 17, undernsang = tertia; XVIII, 49, 8, to undernsange = ad tertiam; XVIII, 49, 14, æt undernsange = tertiam; XLVIII, 82, 15, oð þære þriddan tide = usque ad tertiam; *Benedictine Rule*, Translation, XVII, 41, 3, on undern = tercia; XVIII, 42, 3–4, on undern = tercia; XVIII, 42, 5, on undern; XVIII, 42, 17, to undernsange = ad terciam; XVIII, 42, 22, on undern = ad tertiam; XLVIII, 73, 10, forneah an tid over undern = ad horam pene quartam—this shows the definiteness of Undern; XLVIII, 74, 4, an tid to underne = ad horam secundam; XLVIII, 74, 11, fram ærmorgen oð heane undern ("Winteney," fram ærne morgen oð heahne undern) = a mane usque ad terciam plenam; "Winteney," XLVIII, 99, 16, an tid toforan undern = hora secunda; *Concordia*, Logeman,

314, 315, 329, 331, 554, 672, 953, Undern = tertia; 57, Undersange (MS.) = tertia; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., xx, 3, ymbe undern-tide (Hatton, ymbe under-tid) = circa tertiam horam; Mark, xv, 25, undern-tid (Hatton, under-tid) = tertia hora."

Cockayne renders the "to middes morgenes" of *Leechdoms*, II, 116, 17, by 7 o'clock. "As the morning begins," he says, "at dawn and ends at Undern, our nine o'clock, the middle will be about seven on the average." The absolute incorrectness of his translation is shown, first by *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, XLV, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 488, where Undern is replaced by Middemorgenne, and secondly by the use of Mid-morrow for Undern in Middle English (*infra*). In Old Norse, "miðsmorguns" is not a synonym of "undurn," but falls at Prim (*Norges Gamle Love*, B. II, I, 308, cited by Cleasby-Vigfusson, s. v. Undorn); cf. Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, s. v. Undern.

The Anglo-Saxon Undern had, therefore, a definite signification and, unlike the Undern of later English, could mean only "tertia hora" or "mid-morning." Grein and Heyne, misled probably by Germanic analogies, translate "undernmael" (*Beowulf*, 1429) by "Mittag." Even Sweet's rendering (*Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Glossary to 14a/300, 20/178) "morning" is far too indefinite. Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, Glossary, s. v., gives "mid-morning" as an equivalent. In *Leechdoms*, II, 184, 25, on æfenne ge on underne, the "morning" meaning might possibly be preferred, but in nearly every case "tertia hora" is its synonym.

Other Anglo-Saxon examples sustain the above view: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A°. 530, A. B. C. F., fulneah healfe tid over undern (E. under); A°. 530, A. fram ærmergenne oð undern (cited *supra*); A°. 1122, E. fram þa undern dæies to þa swarte niht; *Blickling Homilies*—Morris's Glossary, s. v.: "the third hour in the morning, also the forenoon from nine to twelve"—93, 22, æt underne (wrongly translated, "at noon"); 93, 36, ær underne (before the third hour); 93, 15, ofer undern (after the third hour); 47, 17, undern-tid (9 o'clock); 133, 27, undern-

tid (translated, "undern-time"); 155, 19; 201, 25, æt þære þriddan tide; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 74, undern; I, 314, hit is undern-tid; I, 504, 22, ane tyd ofer undern; II, 74, eft on undern; II, 76, Ure cnihthad swylce undern-tide on þam unstihþ ure geoguþ swa swa seo sunne deþ ymbe þære þriddan tide (*supra*).

Undern in Canonical Usage.—Undern was, among the Anglo-Saxons, the time of the morning mass (Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 27): Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XXIII, 38, 32, Fram undern tide, þonne mon mæssan oftost singeþ; Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, 358, 20, ymbe undern-tid, ða ða se broðor wæs gewunod to mæssigenne (Thorpe translates "ninth hour"); *Colloquy* of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, 101, 17), syþþan undertide and dydon mæssa (MS.) be dæge; Byrhtferð, 126, *Anglia*, VIII, 320, 4, Hwæt þa halgan underntid arcebiscopas mid gehadedum þegnum kyrtenlice wynsumiað and þa æþelan munecas þære tide lof mid kyrriole and engla lofsange gewurðiað.

There were reasons for an important service at Undern (*Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXIV): "On undern we sculon God herian forþam on undern-timan Crist wæs þurh þæra Judêa dom to deaþe fordemed and toweard þære rode gelæd þe he siððan on þrowode for ealles middaneardes alysednysse. And eft æfter his æriste on pentecostenes dæg com se halga gast on undern-timan ofer þa apostolas."

I may mention here the "ær underne" of Aldred's very important autograph memorandum in the *Durham Ritual*, Stevenson, p. 185.

Undern as a Meal-time.—Undern was the Anglo-Saxon breakfast hour. Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 281, 30, undermete = prandium (æfenmete = coena); 479, 3, undern-mete = sub modio; Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, IV (6), 164, 30, æt his undernswæsendum (Giles, 280, 12, ad prandium); Ælfred robs the epigrammatic Latin, "Prandite tamque apud inferos coenaturi," of all its force (*Orosius*, Sweet, II, V, 84, 30): "Mid þæm þe he sprecend wæs to his geferum æt his

underngereord ær he to þæm gefeohte fore: 'Uton ne brucan þisses undermetes swa þa sculon þe heora æfen-giefl on helle gefeccean sculon.'" *Pastoral Care*, XLIV, 322, 19, underngifl oððe æfengifl (Gregory, XX, C, M. *P. L.*, 77, 84, prandium aut coenam); *Blickling Homilies*, 99, 2, heora underngereordu and æfengereordu hie mengdon togædere; Salomon and Saturn, Kemble, 193, 59, On XII monþum þu scealt sillan þinum þeowan men, VII hund hlafa and XII hlafa buton morgen-metum and non-metum.

We have (in the *Leechdoms*) far more direct evidence to the time of the first meal. One sufferer with a bad digestion is directed (II, 178, 1) to take "to undernes" bread broken in hot-water or peeled apples; for another dyspeptic is prescribed (II, 194, 3) a very deadly diet of hard-boiled eggs, roots, lettuce, giblets, goose, etc.; other more unpalatable doses are ordered (II, 18; II, 140, LXIX; II, 346, 4), and finally the invalid is to "take his constitutional" at that hour (II, 182). Quite à tort I quote III, 196, that the 26th Moon, "fram undertid oð non nis na god mona blod lætan."

On fasting days the hungry faster was not allowed to compensate himself for the loss of breakfast (undern-gereord) and dinner by gastronomic prowess at the evening meal (æfen-gifle or gyfel) ("Ecclesiastical Institutes," XXXVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486): "On undern and on æfen" was the time of meals on Quadragesima Sundays (Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, XII, 2).

Undern in Middle English.

Two things must be noted in studying the later history of the Anglo-Saxon hours:

I. As Canonical Hours they were rather comprehensive, including often the quarter of a day. This served to increase their vagueness and to prevent their names being limited definitely to single hours. In the case of Prime and Undern the hours of early-morning and mid-morning service were not changed, but the names came to be applied rather to the end

than to the beginning of the "spatium orationis." How None was used for a division of time, two hours before the old "nona hora," will be considered later.

II. The introduction of clocks into England during the 13th and 14th Centuries (*supra* sub Horologies) established "equinoctial" hours and caused the old temporary divisions to lose their meaning. This innovation did not affect Prime and Undern, which were not destined to live long in the language, as decidedly as it did None.

The Middle English examples of Undern that I shall give are not, of course, exhaustive; yet, in spite of their limited number, they will illustrate, I hope, the different stages in the word's history.

Two questions must be discussed under Undern:

A. The change of meaning in Undern itself.

B. The connection of Undern with Undermele and Undertide.

A.

(a). In religious poems and prose, scriptural events connect themselves immediately with certain hours and indicate their time.

In *Orm*, 19458 (Holt, 1878, II, 374), the meaning is not uncertain:

"Godes gast off heffne com
I firen onnlicnesse
Uppo the Laferrd Cristess hird
An dagg at unndern time."

The Gift of Tongues was at "hora tercia diei" (Acts, II, 15). In *Ancren Riwle*, 24, 426, it is equal, as in Anglo-Saxon usage, to Mid-morrow, and Ibid., 400, Under-tid is the time of the ascent to the cross (Mark, XV, 25, hora tertia). *Holy Rood*, p. 222 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 46), "at hondren day on eode þe giwes grene; *Legend of St. Katharine*, l. 2940 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 80, p. 122):

"Fridei onont te under
I þe dei and þe time
þ. hire deore leofmon

Jesuse ure loverd
Leafde lif on rode
Fur hire and fur us alle."

Latin—hora tercia, servans videlicet diem et horam. *Lay Folk's Mass Book*, 84 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 71, 1879), tells of the cries of the Jews at the 3rd hour: "At the time of oundren þai gan cry and call;" Ibid., p. 131, l. 125 ("Vernon MS."), gives the time of travelers' masses:

"In þe morweninge ȝif þou may
And ȝif þou may not do so
I rede beo underne or þou go
Or elles be heiȝ midday."

William of Shoreham, Wright, p. 81, names: "Thyse oures of the Canone at matyn-tyde by nyȝte—at prime—at ondre—atte syxte tyde—atte none—at evesange—at complyn; Ibid., p. 84, "Crucyfige! Crucifige! Greddon hi at ondre" (tercia hora).

In *Cursor Mundi* (A. D. 1320), l. 16741, Undern has asumed the meaning of "midday:" "Be þis was undren on þe dai þat mirckend al þe light (cf. Matt., XXVII, 45; Mark, XV, 33; Luke, XXIII, 44, "Erat autem fere hora sexta et tenebrae factae sunt," etc.). The "midday" meaning of Undern is common in the speech of Wycliffe. Contrast with William of Shoreham's list (*supra*), the Canonical Hours in Wycliffe's *Rule of St. Francis* (Matthew, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 74, p. 41): "But late lewid freris seie four and twenti pater nostris for matynes, for laudes five, for prime, tierce (9 a. m.), undren (12 m.) and noon (3 p. m.), for eche of hem seven pater nostris and for evensong twelve and for compleyn sevene" (Note). Many examples are found in the Wycliffite versions of the *New Testament* (Forshall and Madden, 1850): Matt., XX, 3, thridde our (A. S. undern); Mark, XV, 25, Forsoth it was the thridde our that men clepen undrun (Variants, p. 136, unduren, undren, underne); Mark, XV, 33, and the syxte our or mydday (Variants, p. 137, or undurne); Luke, XXIII, 44, Sothly it was almost the sixte

our (Variants, our or middai, hour or underne); John, IV, 7, Sothli the our was the syxte or undurn (Var., midday); Acts, II, 15, It is thridde our of the day or underne.

In the South Undern retains its old meaning. As the passage from the *Cursor Mundi* indicates, the "midday" signification is doubtless one of the traces of the North in Wycliffe's work, or may indicate a Northern scribe. It is not surprising to find the word assuming before it disappeared from literature, the meaning "midday" in the very section where it was to have for centuries a signification unknown to the Anglo-Saxons.

(b). In non-scriptural usage it is harder to find the time. Bradley-Stratmann gives several examples of the word's occurrence, but I shall mention only instances that determine its meaning:

Old English Miscellanies, 33 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 49), at undren and at midday also; 56, 657, at þon heye undarne (this has undoubtedly the "tercia plena" meaning of *Ben. Rule*, Trsl., XLVIII, 74, 11, quoted *supra*—cf. high prime, *Piers Plowman*, C. IX, 149, and "heie none," *Holy Rood*, 44, 308); *Alexander*, 5853 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, Extra Ser. 47), myd over underne (Skeat's Note); *Alliterative Poems*, A. 512 (Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, I; Gollancz, Pearl, 1891, stanza 43), aboute under: the Editor of *Catholicon Anglicanum*, s. v., Orendron and Gollancz, in his Edition de luxe, translate this as "Noon," but the sense of "third hour" is clear; *Holy Rood*, 721 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 46, 82), betwix þe underen and þe prime; Chaucer, B. 4412, Till it was passed undern of the day: Morris, in his Clarendon Press Ed. of *Prologue, etc.*, Glossary, s. v., assigns Undern in the last passage to 11 a. m. I prefer to think with Brae (Essay on Prime, *Astrolabe*) that it is synchronous with the 9 o'clock Pryme of B. 4387 (Skeat, *Astrolabe*, LXI). Tyrwhitt explains Chaucer, v. 8136 (Clerk's Tale) = E. 260, "the time of undurne of the same day," as the third hour of the day or 9 o'clock; the original here has "hora prandii" from which we may, with reason, infer that Undern was in

Chaucer's day a meal-time. In v. 8857 (Tyrwhitt's Ed.) = E. 981, Undern translates "hora tertia." Thus, whatever may be true of the North, in the southerly counties, Undern retained to the end its Anglo-Saxon meaning.[1]

A few words about the later history of Undern: *Catholicon Anglicanum*, p. 261, gives these definitions: "Orendron—Meridies; Orendron-mete—Merenda; To ete orendron-mete —Merendinare." The *Promptorium Parvulorum* definition will be discussed later.

In the *Collection of North Country Words*, made by Ray in 1691 (*Eng. Dialect Soc.*, XV, 1874), cited by Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, and by the *Century*, we find numerous corruptions of Undern: "Aandorn sb. Merenda, an afternoon meal; Orndorns, afternoon drinking (Cumberland); Aunder or Oneder (Cheschire), Doundrins (Derby), Dondinner (Yorkshire) = afternoon drinking. Undern has thus acquired, in modern dialects, a meaning which, in literary English, it never assumed.

B.

Tyrwhitt, Glossary, is perplexed by the etymology of "undermeles," but refers to the passage cited by Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. I, VI, 36 (Ed. of 1777, I, p. 229 sq.), from the Town Book of Stamford, XVIII, E. IV: "It is ordeyned that no person opyn their sack or let the corn to sale before the hour of ten of the clok, or else the undernone bell be rongyn."

"Undertime," says Nares in his *Glossary* (London, 1876), "means Evening from Under and time, the inferior or under part of the day. It has no connection with Undern which, as we have seen, refers to an early hour before Noon." Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, *Chaucer's Complete Works*, Notes to Canterbury Tales, p. 315, claims that such a connection exists.

[1] I cannot find the slightest authority for Skeat's statement (*Chaucer's Complete Works*, Notes to Canterbury Tales, p. 345; Glossary, s. v. Undern) that Undern meant sometimes 10.30 or 11 a. m., sometimes an afternoon hour.

The best argument against Nares' position is one from example. I cite some instances already mentioned: *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., xx, 3, Hatton MS., under-tid; Mark, xv, 25, Corp. undern-tide, Hatton, under tid; *Ben. Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, ccxiv, undern-timan; *Beowulf*, 1429, undern-mael; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 101, 17, undertid; 281, 30, under-mete; *Orosius*, ii, v, 84, 30, undermetes; *Leechdoms*, iii, 196, 8, undertid; *Concordia*, 57, undersang; *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, xv, 45, 16, undersang. To continue into Middle English the history of these forms: *Ancren Riwle*, 400, under-tid; Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, ii, 251, Orpheus 73, undertyde (cited by Bradley-Stratmann); Böddeker, "Harleian MS. 2253," p. 184, Geistliche Lieder, ii, 5, at under (9 o'clock); St. Katharine, 2940 (*supra*), onont te under; *All. Poems*, A. 512 (*supra*), aboute under. The above list shows the identity of Under and its compounds with Undern—a clear case of "phonetic decay."

Under-mele was however to change its meaning. Trevisa (v, 173) translates Higden's Latin, "meridiano tempore" by "under-mele-tide;" here the "Harleian MS. 2261" reads "in his meridien tyme." In Chaucer's well-known "undermeles and morweninges" (Wife of Bath's Tale, D. 875) an afternoon time is indicated, but the idea of repast is not necessarily present. That the name of the meal, however, was connected on certain occasions with the period of the day is shown very strikingly, Tale of Beryn, 226 (*Chaucer Society*, 2nd Ser., 17, 1876):

> "Then al this aftyr-mete I hold it for the beste
> To sport and pley us, quod the hoost, eeche man as him leste."

Ibid., l. 388:

> "They wissh and sett rigte as he bad each man with his frere
> And bigonne to talk of sportis and of chere
> þat they had the after-mete whils þey were out."

The context shows that "after-mete" was the period between the Midday-meal and Supper.

No very rigid laws can be applied to these hour-changes. An analogous case to the one that I am discussing presents itself. In many sections of America, certainly of the Southern States, Noon has the well-defined meaning of Midday, while Afternoon is used to cover the period between the 2nd and 3rd meals (roughly speaking, 3–7 p. m.). Just such a case is the one before us. Undern and Under-mele gradually became separated, the divergence being assisted by popular etymology[1] and by such reasons as I have given at the beginning of my treatment of the Middle English Undern. The difference in meaning is particularly striking in the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1450), Way, 1865, p. 511: "Underne (Undyre and Undermele), Submeridianum, Submesimbria, C. F. In Mesimbria; Undermele, Postmeridies, Postmesimbria, Merarium." It will aid my discussion of None to note here that these meanings of Under-mele and After-mete constitute a strong argument in favor of a meal at Midday.

The later history of Under-mele has been traced by Nares. His examples (*Glossary*, s. v.) show that it was not an uncommon word in Elizabethan English, and that it then and later bore the meaning of Afternoon (Coles, *Eng. Dictionary*, 1677).

Middæg.

This Hour does not need much comment. In canonical use it was one of the less important services and is always the translation of Sexta hora or Meridies:

Benedictine Rule, Gloss (Logeman), XV, 45, 16; XVI, 46, 14; XVIII, 47, 10; XVIII, 48, 17, 49, 9, 49, 14; XXIII, 56, 13; XXXVIII, 70, 11–12; XLI, 73, 4; XLVIII, 81, 15, middægsang = sexta; Translation (Schröer), XVII, 41, 3; XVIII, 42, 4, 17, 23; XXIV, 42, 23; XXIV, 49, 7; XLVIII, 73, 11, middæg = sexta; *Concordia*, Logeman, 371 (twice), 674, 687, 955, 956, middæg = sexta.

[1] If "Under" had aught of its old "between" meaning, it was natural that "undermele" should fall in the afternoon, between dinner and supper.

In other texts it has the same meaning:

Orosius, III, v, 104, niht oð midne dæg (nox usque ad plurimam diei partem); IV, 7, 184, 28, niht oð midne dæg (nocte multa lucem claram effulsus); Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, II, XIII (16), 144, 12, æt middum dæge (Giles, II, 240, 3, die media); IV, VIII (7), 284, 16, þon sunnan leoht bið æt middan dæge (Giles, III, 40, 4, sol meridianus); IV, XXXIII (32), 384, 1, þa hit wæs foreweard middæges (Giles, III, 156, 8, imminente hora ipsius diei); V, VI (6), 402, 1, wæs hit huhugu seo seofoðe tid dæges, ðæt is an tid ofer midne dæg (Giles, III, 176, 16, erat autem hora diei circiter septima); V, XIII (12), 430, 7, oðþe ðære middæglican sunnan sciman (Giles, III, 206, 33, sive solis meridiani radiis). *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXV, 5, ymbe þa sixtan tide; Matt., XXVIII, 45, fram þære sixtan oð þa nigoþan tide; Mark., XV, 33, and on þære sixtan tide; Luke, XXIII, 44, seo syxte tid; John, IV, 6, VII, 14, middæg; IX, 14, seo syxte tid. *Old Testament* (Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, I), Gen., XLIII, 16, to middes dæges, meridie; Deut., XXVIII, 29, on midne dæg, in meridie; *Blickling Homilies*, 91, 28, on midne dæg; 145, 27, ær þære syxtan tide þæs dæges; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 108, 18, 228, 14, fram middæge oð non; I, 128, 12, ofer midne dæg; Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, III, 341; XVIII, 16, oð ofer midne dæg; III, 590, middeges (at midday); III, 595, oð middæg; *Leechdoms*, I, 180, Chap. LXXVII, to middan-dæge; II, 28, 5, þonne middæg sie; II, 140, Chap. LXIV, on þreo tida, on undern, on middæg and on non; II, 146, Chap. LXXII; III, 74, 6, on middel-dagum; II, 288, 25, he sceal fæstan oð midne dæg; III, 186, 5; 188, 22; 190, 20; 194, 24; 196, 4, syxtan tide; Wright-Wülker, *Voc.*, 175, 45, sexta, middæg; 450, 5, middægtid, meridies.

The *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXVI, enjoins a service of praise at Midday "forðon to middes dæges Crist wæs on rode aþened," etc.

The connection of Midday with the meal-time of the Anglo-Saxons will be considered under the head of None.

None.

Peck, in his *Desiderata Curiosa*, I, 124 sq., regards Noon as a contraction of the Latin "novus dies" and argues from this that the Saxons began the Natural Day[1] at Midday. He has been followed, it is needless to say, by no later writer. The Anglo-Saxon None, etymologically our Noon, has always the meaning of "nona hora:"

Benedictine Rule, Gloss, XV, 46, 5, none (Lat.); XV, 46, 14, nonsanc = nona; XVII, 47, 10–11, nonsanges = none; XVIII, 49, 15, æt nonsange = nonam; XXIII, 56, 14, to nonas = nona; XXXVIII, 70, 12, nones = none; XLI, 73, 7, oð non = usque ad nonam; XLI, 73, 15, to nonas = ad nonam; XLVIII, 81, 18; 82, 10; 82, 11–12, þære nontide = hore none; Translation, XVII, 41, 3; XVIII, 42, 4; XXIV, 49, 7, 8, on non = nona; XVIII, 42, 18, to nonsange = ad nonam; XVII, 42, 23, on non = ad nonam; XLVIII, 73, 14, sy se non geradod and sy gehringed þonne seo eahtoðe tid bið healf agan; XLVIII, 74, 12, an tid ofer non = ad decimam plenam; *Concordia*, 378, 483, 567, 674, 732, 734, 737, non = nona; 833, tide nones = hora nona. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, XIV, 296, 14, gefylledre nontide; *Shrine*, 80, 1, oð ða nigeðan tid þæt is þonne non; 85, 30, on ða nygeðan tide þæt is on ðone non. *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXVII, 45; Luke, XXIII, 44, oþ þa nygoþan tide; Matt., XX, 5, ymbe þa sixtan and nigoþan tide; XXVII, 46, and ymbe þa nigoþan tide; Mark, XV, 33, oð non-tide = usque in horam nonam; XV, 34, to non-tid = hora nona; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 216, þa embe nontid; I, 228, fram middæge oþ non; II, 74, se non fram Moyse oð Dryhtnes to-cyme; II, 76, seo non-tid bið ure yld forðan ðe on non-tide asyhð seo sunne and ðæs ealdigendan mannes mægen bið wanigende (*supra*); II, 256, hwæt ða, ymbe midne dæg wearð middaneard aðeostrod and seo

[1] Let me emphasize here—as I have done in my first pages—the Saxon "Natural." As distinguished from the classical idea, it is always connected with equal hours.

sunne, behydde hire hatan leoman oð ða nigoðan tide, ðe we non hataþ (a reference to the Passion); *Leechdoms*, II, 140, Chap. LXIV, on non; II, 290, 7, to nones;[1] III, 186, 5, fram tide þære syxtan oð non god mona (4th Moon) blod lætan; III, 194, 3, oð ða nigoþen; III, 196, 4, 8, oð non; III, 196, 17, fram non-tide; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 101, 19, we sungon non; 175, 46, non = nona hora. The *Benedictine Service* gives the reason for worship at this hour (Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CCXVI): "On nontiman we sculon God herian forþam on þone timan Crist gebæd for þam þe him deredon and siððan his gast asende and on þone timan sculon geleaffulle men hi georne gebiddan" (cf. Bouterwek, CXC).

None as a Meal-time.

Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, 1871, p. 34, is inclined to consider None the meal-time, as Midday and not as one of the Canonical Hours. I shall take a very similar view of the Middle English None, but Wright's statement is certainly not true of the Anglo-Saxon dinner-hour.

The Glosses help us in finding the time of the 2nd meal; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 147, 30, Merenda = Non-mete; 282, 13; 353, 28, Annona = Non-mete. Bells summoned the monks to their meals at None; *Ben. Rule*, Translation, XLVIII, 98, 5: "Siððan hy þone forman cnyll to none gehyren, gongen hy ealle from hyra weorce and don hy gearuwe þæt hi magon to cirican þonne man eft cnylle. Ðonne eft æfter heora nongereorde ('Winteney,' 99, 20, non-mete = refectio) ræden hy eft heora bec oððe hyra psalmas singan." The *Concordia*, l. 374, commands, with even more definiteness that, at the first none bell (primum signum nonae), the monks should wash their hands and prepare themselves for the repast. In the

[1] The adverbial phrases, "to nones," "to middes dæges" (Gen., XLIII, 16) are to be rendered, as the contexts show, "at noon," "at midday." "To æfenes" (Conf. Ecgberti, XXX, Th., *A. L.*, 355) means undoubtedly "till evening" (for this and like phrases, compare Sievers-Cook, *Old English Grammar*, p. 178, § 320, Note).

Colloquy of Ælfric (Wright-Wülker, *Voc.*, 103) the young monk places "the eating and drinking" after Middaysong, but in the *Benedictine Rule*, XLI, it is directed that the times of meals vary with the seasons: "From Easter to Pentecost let the brothers refresh themselves at the sixth hour (Logeman, 65, 14, þæs middæges gereord). During the Summer if the labors of the field do not hold them and the heat disturb them, let them fast even to None on Wednesday and Friday; on other days let them take their meals at the 6th Hour. From the Ides of September let them ever refresh themselves at None (to nones gereorden)." That the Anglo-Saxon drafters of the *Concordia* found such a variation of the meal-hour necessary is shown by their enjoining (l. 560) the monks to take "from Easter to Holyrood Day dinner at sext, followed by the meridien sleep; from Holyrood Day to Lent, on Wednesdays and Fridays in the Summer, and at all the fasts of the order, dinner at None." According to *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XXIV, 49, 7, an excommunicated person should receive his dinner alone after the dinner-time of the brothers, if the brothers at Midday, he at Noon, if the brothers at Noon, he at Evening. That Noon was the dinner hour of all classes is indicated by an interesting entry in the *Chronicle* (E. 1140): "þerefter in þe Lengten þestrede þe sunne and te daei abuton non-tid daies þa men eten þæt men lihtede candles to æten bi."

None on Fast Days.

Bede tells us (*Eccl. Hist.*, III, 5, 162, 8) that, by the example of Bishop Aidan, it became the habit for all religious people to fast up to the ninth hour (to nones) on the fourth and six days[1] of the week except during fifty days after Easter.

[1] That honor was paid to Wednesday and Friday by the Anglo-Saxons, the Laws give ample evidence: Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, LV; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XVII, 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, p. 283; "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, 108, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 335; "Constitutions" of Odo, Spelman, *Concilia*, p. 417, Johnson, 362; "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, XXXVI, Thorpe, 329; "Canons" of Ælfric, 37, Thorpe, 450; Edgar's Laws, II, 5, Schmid, 188; Athelred, V, 17, Schmid, 224; VI, 24, Schmid, 230; Canute, I, 16, Schmid, 262; Athelstan, V, 3, Schmid, 154; *Leechdoms*, III, 224.

Two of the MSS. of the "Confessionale" of Ecgbert, Archbishop of York, contain this interesting addendum (XXXVII, N. 6, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 358): "On þam ærran dæge æt geolum (y. = Bodl. Laud, F. 17, middan wintra) æt none, siððan mæsse byð gesungen heo gereordiað Romani; Grecas to æfenne, þonne æfen bið gesungen and mæsse, þonne foð hi to mete."

Wulfstan (*Homilies*, LV (1a), 284, 28; XXIX, (25), 136, 16; XVII (22), Sermo in XL, 102, 23) enjoins every healthy man to fast until None (to nones) on every Lenten day. *Ecclesiastical Institutes*, XXXIX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486, and the Sermon on the 3rd Sunday in Lent (Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 140), unite in declaring that it is no fitting fast to take to meat as soon as one hears the none-bell (Sermon: "sona swa hy þæt belltacen gehyrað þære nigoþan tide, þæt is seo non-tid"); but it is proper to postpone the meal until after evening-service (Sermon, "æfenþenunge").

None in Middle English.

Johnson, Note to Edgar's *Canons* (Baron's ed., p. 410), explains thus the change in the meaning of None:

"The monks could not eat their dinner till they had said their noonsong, which was a service regularly to be said at three o'clock, but they probably anticipated their devotions and their dinner by saying their noondaysong immediately after their middaysong and presently falling on. But it may fairly be supposed that when Midday became the time of dining and saying noonsong it was for that reason called Noon by the monks." This is true in part. *Ancren Riwle*, p. 21, shows, however, that during a great part of the year the 2nd meal preceded Nones.

Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, and the *Century Dictionary* claim that the time of the Church Service called Nones was altered and that the term came to be applied to Midday. My own view is this. The

time of None became settled at midday, after the introduction of clock hours and a fixed time-standard, because the None-meal was eaten at 12 o'clock. My reasons for this opinion may be thus stated:

1. Even in Anglo-Saxon times the time of the 2nd meal was varying. The examples from the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Concordia*, given under *None as a Meal-time*, show this.

2. The Canonical Hour, Nones, retained its meaning of 9th Hour long after None had been applied to Midday. To sustain this by example: Layamon, v. 31733 (Madden, 1847, III, 276), indicates a "ninth hour" meaning:

> "þa hit wes uppen non
> þa sunne gan to nipen."

Id., II, 163, v. 14039 (Bradley-Stratmann); II, 291, 17063 B.-S. are not determinative. "At midday and at none" of *Old English Miscellany*, p. 50 B.-S., and of the Parable of Vineyard, Böddeker (MS. Harl. 2253), 185, 1, shows a retention of the old signification. In the *Lives of the Saints* (c. 1300), 56, 217, 232 (Horstmann), the Canonical Nones retains its position: "& siþþe also prime and underne siþþe and middai and afterwardes non." Such is the case in the "York Hours of the Cross" (c. 1300) (*Lay Folks Mass Book*, E. E. T. Soc., 71, 86, 54):

> "At the tyme of none Jesus gun cry
> He wytte his saul to his fader."

And William of Shoreham (Wright, 1849, p. 86) connects the Hour with the death of Christ. Wycliffe always assigns to None the meaning of 9th Hour: *Rule of St. Francis*, p. 41 (*supra*); Matt., XX, 3, sixte hour and nynethe; Mark, XV, 33, til in to the nynthe hour, that is noon; Luke, XXIII, 44, to the nynthe hour (Variants, or none); Acts, III, 1, at the nynthe our of preying; Acts, X, 3, nynthe hour or noon. Noon is applied to Midday early in the 14th Century, but Nones, the time of holy worship, is still the 9th hour in the Roman Breviary and the Anglican Hymnal.

3. When None is applied to Midday it still remains the meal-hour. I trace rapidly its history. Very often None is a mere expletive: *Guy of Warwick* (*E. E. T. Soc.*, Extr. Ser., 25–26), l. 3342, till none; 5928, longe or none; *Generydes*, Wright, 180 (E. E. T. Soc., 55, 6), er it be none; Athelstan, *Reliq. Antiq.*, II, 90, or it be none; II, 95, or none. In King Horn, however, None is the dinner-hour (l. 358):

"Go nu quaþ heo sone
And send him *after none*
* * * *
l. 368, Horn in halle fond he þo
Before þe kyng on benche
[Red] wyn for to schenche
Horn quaþ he so hende
To bure nu þu wende
After mete stille
With Rymenhild to dwelle."

We find in *Concordia*, l. 484, þæne non na fylige scence; and the very expression None-chence is used as the name of donations to drink for workmen, Letter Book G., fol. IV (1354), Riley's *Memorials of London*, 265, Note 7 (cited Skeat's Note to *Piers Plowman*, IX, 158, Nuncheon). Another citation from Horn (l. 801):

"þe King him makede a feste
wiþ his knigtes beste
þer cam in at non."

At the end of the 13th Century, the very time of the introduction of clocks, None suffered change. The earliest undoubted example of a midday-meaning that I have discovered is from Horstmann, *Lives of the Saints* (1285–1300), 45, 402, 311:

"For þat is evene above þin heved rigt atþe nones stounde
Onunder þine fet evene it (the sun) is at midnigt onder þe grounde . . .
And noon it is benèthen us! whane it is here midnigt."

Cf. Id., 27, 1469, 148; 39, 137, 264: Morris is wrong, however, in assigning such a meaning to *Specimens*, I, 3a, 81;

6a, b 255, etc. Ritson, *Metrical Romances*, II, 251, 73, points to a midday-meaning:

"And lete him slepe tyl after none
That the under-tyde was agane."

(Yet under-tyd may be postmesimbria). *Cursor Mundi*, 16764:

"Be þis it was þe dai sun gane
þat comen was to none."

The allusion is to Christ's death and the Canonical meaning is kept; but it is significant that in those texts (*Cursor Mundi* and Wycliffe), where Undern becomes Midday, None is the 9th Hour.

The 12 o'clock None is still the dining hour; *Piers Plowman*, C. 7, 429; 9, 146, Nones, the noon meal; 9, 290, None; 3, 100, before None. Skeat (Id., E. E. T. Soc., 67) shows in his Note, p. 165, to 9, 146, "that the hour named None is what we now call noon, viz., 12 o'clock," and that we are to understand the "anchorites and hermites as having but one meal a day and that at Midday?" In Chaucer the midday-meaning is fixed, *Astrolabe*, Part II, 4, 18: "I mene from XI of the clokke biforn the hour of noon til on of the clok next folwyng." Yet in the pseudo-Chaucerian *Tale of Beryn*, C. Series, II, 17, 169, the pilgrims dine at this hour:

"And sith þey drouȝ to dynerward, as it drouȝ to noon."[1]

Undermele and aftermete (*supra*) bespeak a Midday dinner, and the Glosses tell the same story: *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 6, "Liber Festivalis," non-mete, merenda; *Promptorium Parvulorum*, p. 360, nun-mete, merenda, anticinium, receives a copious note from Way (Id., 360, IV, 3). The word "Nooning" that he cites is in itself a strong argument for the close connection between Noon and the Middle English meal-time

[1] Although Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, p. 405, quotes largely from the *Tale of Beryn*, he does not mention this very important line. It would perhaps interfere with his theory (p. 261) of an early breakfast, a 9 o'clock dinner, and a 5 p. m. supper.

(Way s. v. Bever; Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium*, s. v.). The change in meaning is therefore to be looked for in the shifting of Nooning and Nuncheon to Midday.[1]

Æfen.

A good definition of the time of Æfen is found in *Allit. Poems*, A. 512 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 64):

"At the day of date of even-songe
An oure byfore the sonne go doun."

This allows for the change of the Artificial Day, and corresponds exactly to the definition of Durand, *Rationale*, v, ii, 138,

[1] Noon or 12 o'clock was undoubtedly the meal-hour in 1475, according to "MS. Harl. 5086, fol. 86–90," *The Babees Book*, 129 (*E. E. T. Soc.*, vol. 32 (1868), p. 5):

"At none
Whenne that ye se youre lorde to mete shall go."

The Ballads furnish the same evidence; compare Gest of Robyn Hode, Second Fytte, stanza 143 (Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, 1894, p. 21):

"So longe abode Robyn fastinge
Thre houres after the none."

Id., stanza 156:

"Therefore he was fastinge
Til it was past the none."

Now what relation did the French Nonne bear to the English None, and what influence did the French hours exert upon those that we have been studying? Almost none. Godefroy's Dictionnaire (1888) s. v. Nonne, and the Indexes in the Publications of the Société des Anciens Textes Français show that Nonne had originally the meaning of "ninth hour," but that it appears, in the sense of Midday, in late 15th Century texts. No French critic has as yet fixed the times of Froissart's hours; but they furnish no difficulty. I mention them with the determining references: Prime or 6 o'clock (*Chroniques*, I, LXXXVII; I, CCII); Tiers or 9 o'clock (*Chron.*, I, XL, et le quart jour jusques à heure de tierce; I, LVII; I, CCLXX); Midi or Midday (I, CCLXXXI, Jusques à heure de midi); Grand Midi or Fully (Lat. plena) 12 o'clock (I, XCIII, jusques à grand midi; cf. Chaucer's "Prime large," Brae's essay); Petite Nonne immediately follows Grand Midi (I, XCIII); Haute Nonne or L'heure de Nonne, 2–3 o'clock (I, CLXXV,

vesperae vero representant undecimam; V, III, 139, item in vespera, quia tunc incipit dies finire."[1]

Many examples of the use of Æfen present themselves: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XV, 45, 17, æftersang (mistake for æfensang) = vespera; XVI, 46, 14 XVIII, 50, 5, æfensanc = vespera; XVII, 47, 15, æfentidsanc = vespertina synaxis; XVIII, 50, 18, sealmsanga æfensanga = psalmorum vespertinorum; XLI, 73, 5, to æfenne = ad seram; compare XXIV, 56, 14; XLI, 74, 1 (twice); XLII, 74, 6; XLVIII, 82, 2; Id., Translation, XIII, 38, 15, æfensang = vespertina; XVII, 41, 19, þæs æfensanges lof = vespertina synaxis; XVIII, 43, 7, se æfensang = vespera; XVIII, 43, 18, "Winteney," 57, 19, to þam æfendreame = in vespera (cf. Grein, *Sprachschatz*, s. v. "dream"); XXIV, 49, 8, on æfen; XXXIX, 63, 16–17, to þam æfengifle = cenaturi; *Concordia*, 488, 500, 534, 592, 662, 675,

La commenca grand assaut qui dura jusques à haute nonne (jusques après midi); environ heure de nonne; I, XXXIX, entour heure de nonne; I, CCCVI, et commenca la bataille (a long battle) environ heure de tierce et dura jusques à haute nonne; III, LVIII, à un heure après nonne); Basses Vespres or Before Vespers; Vespers or Evening (I, XXXV; I, XXXIX, à basses vespres; I, XLIX, sur l'heure de souper; I, CCXXXI, jusques aux vespres; I, XXXVI, après nonne sur les vespres; I, CCLIX, de vespres jusques à la nuit). Minuit, Point de jour, and Haut jour are mentioned frequently. Buchon (*Chroniques de Froissart*, 1835) puts Nonne at Midday, and Scheler (*Oeuvres de Froissart*, Brussels, 1870–1874, Glossaire, s. v. Nonne) doubts this but leaves the question undecided. As I have shown above the passages themselves settle the matter. In the *Buke of John Mandeville*, Roxburgh Club, 1889, p. 81, where the French text, MS. Harl. 4383, reads, "de tierce du jour jusques à basse none," the English translator (Egerton MS. 1982) gives, "fra undren of þe day to it be passed none;" again, *Id.*, p. 149, "du tierz de jour jusques à noune" is rendered by "fra undrun of þe day til efter noone." The French Haute Nonne is not the original of High Noon (*Holy Rood*, 44, 308). Heah Undern is found in an Anglo-Saxon text (*Ben. Rule*, Transl., XLVIII, 74, 11) as the translation of Tercia Plena; and again, the French hour changed its meaning after the English.

[1] How changed was the meaning of Evening in Shakspere's day, a rather unquotable passage from Romeo and Juliet (II, IV, 98 sq.; cf. Notes, *Variorum Ed.*) proves. To give point to Mercutio's waggery, Evening must begin at noon-tide. As the *Century Dictionary* has shown, Evening retains this meaning until to-day in England and the Southern United States.

930, 1017, æfen = vespera; 388, 450, 711, 964, æfensanc = vespera; 1035, æfenlof = laus vespertinalis; 400, 405, 723, 828 (MS., æfterræding), æfenræding = collatio.

This hour of the day appears frequently in non-canonical usage: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, I, XVIII, 92, 13; III, I, 156, 25; IV, III, 270, 35; IV, XXV, 346, 28; V, XXII, 476, 9, on æfenne; I, XVI, 84, 27, ær æfenne; III, VIII, 180, 21, in æfentiid; IV, XXV, 346, 28, on æfenne þære neahte; V, VI, 402, 2, oð æfen . . . . ða hit æfen wæs; I, I, 26, 2, swa þæt oft on middre nihte geflit cymeð þam behealdendum, hwæðer hit si þe æfenglommung ðe on morgen deagung = Giles, I, I, Vol. II, 30, 29, utrum crepusculum adhuc permaneat vespertinum an jam advenerit matutinum (cf. Guthlac, 1265, fram æfenglome); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. E. F., 979, on æfentide; E. 1106, 1110, on æfen; E. 1106, ælce æfen . . . . sumne æfen; E. 1118, ænes æfenes; "Confessionale Ecgberti," XXX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 355, to æfenes; *Epistola Alexandri*, Baskerville, *Anglia*, IV, l. 294, an tid to æfenes; 523, on æfen; 534–5, mid þy hit æfenne neahlehte; 537, on þone æfen; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., VIII, 16, þa hit æfen wæs = vespere autem facto; Matt., XIV, 15, þa hit wæs æfen = vespere autem facto; Matt., XVI, 2; Mark, XIII, 35, on æfen; Mark, XXV, 20, on þam æfenne; XXVIII, 1, þam reste dæges æfenne; Mark, IV, 35, þonne æfen bið; XV, 42, ða æfen wæs geworden; Luke, XXIV, 29, æfenlæcð = advesperascit; *Old Testament*, Gen., I, 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31, and wæs geworden æfen and mergen; Ex., XII, 6; XII, 18 (twice); XVI, 13; XXIX, 38, 41; Deut., XXVIII, 67, on æfen; Gen., XIX, 1; Joshua, II, 5, on æfnunge; Ex., XVI, 12, to æfen; Deut., XXVIII, 67, æfenes; *Blickling Homilies*, 241, 27; 47, 18; 93, 3; 91, 34, æfen; 245, 10, on æfenne; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 216, 25–26, ær æfenne; I, 452; II, 242, 22; II, 334, 34; II, 348, 18; II, 266, on æfnunge; II, 350, 4, on þam æfenne; II, 370, 1, þisne æfen (Eve of Festival); Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, III, 259; XXIII, 440, 472, on æfen; III, 583, oð æfen; XI, 43, 153, on æfnunge; XIX, 87, oð æfnunge; XV, 58, on

æfentiman; XIII, 27, oð þæt hit æfnode; XXIII, 245, mid þe þe hit æfnian wolde and seo sunne sah to setle; XXIII, 449, to æfen; XXIII, 533, gyrstan æfen; Assmann, *Pseudo Matthaei Evangelium* (Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, III, p. 123), Chap. X, l. 225, oð ðæt æfen wæs; III, 196; XVIII, 24–25, ænes æfenes; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXX (26), p. 151, 16, forðam we us nyton witoð lif æt æfen, ne we nyton þonne we to ure reste goð hwæðer we moton eft dæges gebidan; *Leechdoms*, I, 256; II, 356; II, 28, 5, on æfen; I, 386, ælce æfen; II, 190, 3, æfter æfen geweorc; II, 190, 18, þonne he slapan wille on æfen; II, 26, 22, on æfenne; III, 106, 10, twegen sticcan fulle a æfen, twegen a morgen (à æsnung, Schröer, *Ben. Reg.*, 80, 5, should be read à æfnunge); III, 188, 22 [oð] æfen; III, 196, 17, oð æfen.

The reasons for observing Evensong are many, we are informed by the *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CXC, CCXVIII:

"On æfen we sculon God herian. On þone timan man offrode on þære ealdan æ and mid recelsreocan on þam temple þæt weofod georne weorðode Gode to lofe, and on æfen-timan ure dryhten offrode æt his æfengereorde, and dælde his discipulum, þurh halig geryne, hlaf and win for his sylfes lichaman and for his agen blod. And on æfen-timan hit wæs þæt Joseph Cristes lichaman of rode alinode.

In the Evening the moon was created, and ever since in the Evening renews its age (Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 264, 25; Byrhtferð, 75, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 15). For example of Æfen and its compounds in Anglo-Saxon Poetry, compare Grein, *Sprachschatz*, and Bosworth Toller.

Æfen as a Meal-time.

The Glosses give good evidence that the third meal-time of the Anglo-Saxons was the 11th hour: Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 147, 29, æfengereord = cena; 281, 31, æfenmete = cena; *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XXXIX, 71, 1, æfen-

þenunge = cenae; 71, 3, on æfenþenungum = coenaturis; XLI, 74, 4, æfenþenunge = cene (distinction made between Cena and Refectio); XLII, 74, 10, fram æfenþenunge = a cena; Id., Translation, XLI, 66, 7, æt þam gereorde; XLII, 66, 15, seo tid æfengereordes = tempus cenae; XXXIX, 63, 16–17, to þam æfengifle = cenaturis; *Concordia*, 1030, æfengereord = cenaturi (?); 1034, æfengereord = cena; 1030, æfenþenung = cena = vesperum officium (823).

Wright in *Homes of Other Days*, 34, regards the time of the evening-meal as uncertain. *Benedictine Rule*, Chap. XLI, however, declares that it must end before dark, and very much the same rule was enjoined by the *Concordia* (cf. Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, p. 30). The supper-hour of the laity was doubtless at the same hour.

Other texts mention this meal: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, III, VIII, 184, 23, æfter his æfengereorde; *Pastoral Care*, XLIV, 322, 19, underngiefl oþþe æfengiefl = prandium aut coenam (*supra* sub Undern); *Blickling Homilies*, 67, 26; 99, 22, æfengereordu; 73, 5; 142, 6, æt þæm æfengereordum (N. H. G. abendmahl).

In the early illuminated MSS. dinner scenes are not uncommon. Ælfric's Version of Genesis, MS. Cotton Claudius, B. IV, fol. 36 (Wright's *Homes*, 34, Cut 14), represents Abraham's feast on the birth of his child. MS. Cotton Cleopatra, C. VIII, fol. 15 (Id., 36, Cut 16), pictures "Psychomachia prudentius;" underneath the cut is written, "seo Galnes to hire æfengereordum sitt." Compare MS. Cott. Tiberius, C. IV, fol. 5 (Id., 35, Cut 15).

In strict fasts only one meal a day was eaten; compare *Lives of the Saints*, XX, 41:

> "Be hire (St. Æthelthrytha) is awryten þæt heo wel drohtnode
> To anum mæle fæstnende butan hit freolsdæg wære."

Not only the examples of Saints but ecclesiastical institutes limited good churchmen to a single repast on fast-days; and this repast was at Vesper-tide, *Eccl. Inst.*, XXXVIII, Thorpe,

A. L., 486: Đæt lengten fæsten man sceal mid swiþe healicre gymene healdan swa þæt þær nan dæg ne sy butan sunnandagum anum þæt ænig man æniges metes bruce ær þære teoðan tide oððe þære twelfte." Compare *Eccl. Inst.*, XXXIX–XL, *A. L.*, 486 (Sub None).

Compline.

The numerous examples of the word in the *Century* and the *Oxford* Dictionaries place beyond question the time of the last service of the day. That Compline fell an hour after Evensong in the 13th Century we know from the testimony of Durand (*Rationale*, 164, v, x, 12): "Restat ultima hora ad quam pertinet completorium quod notat hymnus." Three centuries before this the "ultima hora canonica" of *Concordia*, 413, had been translated "on ytemystre tide riht gesetre."

The canonical texts all agree in their rendering of Completorium: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss, XVI, 46, 6, nihtsanges = completoriique; XVII, 48, 15, nihtsang = completorium; XLII, 67, 9, nihtsang singan (compleant); XVIII, 44, 5; XLII, 67, 11, nihtsanc = completorium; *Concordia*, 407, 408, 409, 440, 448, 662, 677, 828, 865, 925, 986, 1024, completorium = nihtsang. Wright-Wülker, 207, 44, completorium = gefylling-tide should be compared with *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, XLII, 75, 5, compleant = gefyllan.

Completorium had, however, other Anglo-Saxon equivalents: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, IX, 126, 31, þa eode he to his inne þær he hine restan wolde—wæs foreweard niht; V, XIII, 422, 28, In forewearde neaht; Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 184, 26, oð forð nihtes; *Leechdoms*, I, 88, On forannihte; *Blickling Homilies*, 47, 19, completorium = sixtan siþe on niht ær he ræste; *Benedictine Service*, Bouterwek, CCXVIII, forannihtsang = completorium; compare XVI, 46, 14; XVIII, 51, 2; XLII, 75, 6; Id., Translation, XVII, 41, 14, nihtsang, de completorio: "On forannihte we sculon God herian ær we to bedde gan and gemunan þæt Crist on byrgene neah forannihte bebyrged weard" (cf. Mark, XV, 42, "et jam sero facto, etc." In Wright-Wülker,

175, sero = bed-tid). When the young monk is asked (Wright-Wülker, 102), "hwænne wylle ge syngan æfen oððe nihtsang (completorium)?" he does not help us much by his answer, "þonne hit tyma bið."

The examples in the last paragraph indicate that the Anglo-Saxons retired at Completorium. That this was the procedure of the monks, *Ben. Rule*, XLII, indicates. Bouterwek, in his note on the word (*Cædmon*, CXCIII), shows that Compline was said in the dormitory and cites *Chrodegang's Rule*, XXIII, to prove that after it the greatest silence was to be observed. In the full description of the service, in the *Concordia*, we have further evidence that the friars sang the Compline before dark, and went early to their beds.

Conticinium and Intempesta Nox.

Although Conticinium and Intempesta Nox are not Canonical Hours, no study of the Anglo-Saxon Day can be complete without an understanding of their position and meaning.

Conticinium held a definite position as one of the divisions of the night. It is the time of the first Hancred (*supra* s. v.), the hour, "þonne ealle þing sweowiað on hyra reste" (Bede,[2] *Leechdoms*, III, 240), and the period of the "first sleep:" *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1131, æt þe forme slæp; *Daniel*, 108, on frumslæpe; compare Du Cange, *Glossarium* and Godefroy s. v. Primsomne.[1]

Conticinium falls near the times mentioned in the *Epistola Alexandri* (Baskerville): l. 312, Ða wæs seo þridde tid þære nihte þa wolde we us gerestan; 333, þa hit wæs seo fifte tid þære niht þa mynton we us gerestan.

The glosses furnish us with translations of Conticinium:

Wright-Wülker, 117, 9, Conticinium = { Cwyltid / or / Gebedgiht.

[1] This recalls Shelley's, "the first sweet sleep of night" (Lines to an Indian Air).

Wright-Wülker, 211, 41, Conticinium = Cwyldtid vel Swegnes.

Mone B. (*Q. F.*) 3747, Conticinium = Cwylseten.
" " " 3748, Conticinio = Cwylsetene.
" " " 4677, Galli Cantu = Cwyldsetene.

New Aldhelm Glosses (Logeman, *Anglia*, XIII, 35), 205 } Conticinio = Cwyldsene (cf. Note).

Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass), II, 739 notes: "Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon distinguish between two periods of the evening, an earlier, 'aptan,' 'æfen,' 'vespera' and a later, 'queld,' 'cwild,' 'conticinium.'" Grimm derives "cwild" from "cwellan" and explains it rightly by the falling or felling of the day or still better by a deadlike hush of night. His translation of "cwildrofu eodon on laðra last" (*Cædmon*, l. 151) by "(belluae) vesperi famosae ibant in vestigia malorum" seems however a little forced.

The best definition or translation of the word is in the words of Byrhtferð, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319: "Conticinium ys switima oððe salnyssa timan" (*supra*).

Bede,[2] Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 240, puts Intempesta Nox as the fourth division of the night; it is glossed by Midniht, Wright-Wülker, 175, and Byrhtferð, 124, *Anglia*, VIII, 319, calls it "unworclic tima." It might also be characterized by an expression found in Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, II, VI, 114, 16, þære deahlan neahte = secretae noctis. The period is well described by Bede, *De Orthographia* (Giles, VI, 17): "Intempesta nox est media nox, quando quiescendum hinc utique dicta quia inopportuna est actioni vigilantium."

Midnight holds an interesting place in Anglo-Saxon creeds; compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 307, 10:

"Eac he cwæð þæt middaneard wære gesceapen on middere niht, þæt he eft sceal beon on middere niht toworpen and we gelyfað þæt hit swa mæg beon forðam cwyde þe god ælmihtig cwæð on middere niht wæs mycel hream geworden. Nu cymð se brydguma, þæt ys Crist, to dome."

I give a few examples of the word in the prose texts: Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, II, IX, 128, 15, on midre niht (Giles, II, 224, 10, intempestae noctis silentio); III, I, 156, 30, æt middre neahte; IV, X, 286, 12, on midde neaht; IV, XXV, 346, 34, ofer midde neahte; *Anglo-Saxon Gospels*, Matt., XXV, 6, to middere niht; Mark, XIII, 35, on midre nihte; *Old Testament*, Ex. XI, 4, to middre nihte = media nocte; Ex. XII, 29, to middre nihte = in noctis medio; Judges, XVI, 3, to midre nihte = ad medium noctis; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 226, 28; II, 568, 3, 16, 17, 20, on midre niht; I, 246, 33; II, 518, 24, on middere niht; II, 336, 2, on þære þriddan nihte middan; *Lives of the Saints*, V, 469; XI, 120; XV, 60, on middere niht; VIII, 131, on midre niht; XI, 44, oð midde niht.[1]

Chapter II.

The Rubrics to the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.

þa þe se hring ealles geares in weorðunge symbeldaga abædde eac swilce stafum awrat and on bec gesette (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, XX, 314, 22).

As I have already said in my general introduction, my aim in this chapter is to present in Calendar form the Rubrics of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, and to trace, by a comparative study of other liturgies, the connection between text and date from the early days of the Church until our own time.

The study is so attractive that I feared anticipation from the "inevitable German;" and my apprehensions were in part

[1] The other hours have been mentioned for the most part in connection with the Hours of the Canons; yet a few occurrences remain to be noted: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D. E. 800, on þære oðre tid on niht; F. 809, on angynne ðare fifte tide ðas dagas; A. B. D. 879, C. 880, ane tid dæges; *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XIX, 240, 22, ymb þa teogðan tid dæges (Giles, II, 380, 13, hora circiter decima diei; G. translates wrongly, "about 10 o'clock in the morning"); IV, XXXIII, 382, 34, seo aftere tid dæges; *Epistola Alexandri*, Baskerville, 223, 269, seo eahtoðe tid dæges; 253, 254, 488, 489, sio endlefte tid dæges.

realized. In this case, however, the disturber of hopes was a scholar of the first half of the last century. When my work was in its present form, I discovered that a Calendar of Rubrics had been made with admirable correctness by Schilter (*Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicarum*, Ulmae, 1728, Vol. I, Part II, 63–69) from Marshall's Edition of the Gospels. As his work is accessible only to a few, and as his Tables do not trace the history of the Rubrics, the value of an independent tabulation is, however, not diminished.

Hampson has printed (*Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, I) a number of Anglo-Saxon Calendars and has discussed them at length, while Piper (*Kalendarien*; see Bibliography) has studied the same subject most carefully. Marshall in his Notes to the Rubrics (*Gospels*, 1684, pp. 508–538) and Bouterwek in *Calendcwide* (Bibliography) have collected much valuable material. In my Notes I have gathered a few "screadunga," hitherto overlooked. Of these crumbs I need say no more, as the work of the annotator is explanatory of itself.

To speak now of details. The Rubrics are contained in the Cambridge MS., Ii 2, 11, of the Gospels (A), which Skeat (Preface to Mark, VII) assigns to the locality of Exeter and dates about 1050 A. D. Into an older MS. (B) the Bodley NE. F., 3, 15 (now Bodley 441), a number of the A. Rubrics were inserted during the time of Archbishop Parker (Skeat, l. c.). A few both of A. and of B. Rubrics were omitted by Marshall—although he used both MSS.—and, therefore, have no place in Schilter's Calendar. The tables of lessons in the Lindisfarne MS. (Nero D. 4)—i. e., the prefatory Capitula—are "left obscure owing to the lack of prefixed numbers" (Skeat); text and date are never connected. These have been drawn upon in my Notes, when they can furnish help. Bouterwek printed this material in his *Screadunga* (1858), 1–4.

Now, the key to the information furnished by my Tables. I explain first the abbreviations: C. = Liber Comitis of St. Jerome (Hieronymus), 420 A. D. (M. *P. L.*, 30, 503–

548);[1] G. = Homilies of Gregory, 590 A. D. (M. *P. L.*, 76); B. = Homilies of Bede (Giles, *Works of Bede*, Vol. v); A. = Homilies of Ælfric (Thorpe, 2 vols.); Bl. Hom. = Blickling Homilies (Morris); K. = Old Kentish Sermons (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 49 (1872), 26 ff.); W. = Sermons of Wycliffe (Thomas Arnold, Oxford, 1869, 3 vols.); O. G. = Old German Sermons (Wackernagel, Basel, 1876); S. Y. H. = Salisbury, York, and Hereford Usage (*Sarum Missal in English*, London, 1868, Appendix B, p. 605, cited Blunt, *Annotated Prayer Book*); P. E. = Protestant Episcopal; R. = Roman; E. = Eastern; L. = Lutheran. The numbers to the right of G, B, O. G, W, above the line, indicate the number of the Homily or Sermon; A. and Bl. Hom. are cited usually by number of Homily, sometimes by page; in other cases the dates furnish sufficient reference.

When no text follows the letters cited, let it be understood that the text is that of the Anglo-Saxon Rubric. For the sake of clearness I explain in full two of the dates. Under January 1 the letters C; B^{22}; A., I, VI; etc., show that the text for New Year's Day in all of those liturgies is that of our Anglo-Saxon Rubric, Luke, II, 21; here the Luke, II, 15–21 of the P. E. service, as indicated in the Table, proves an exception. Again, under February 11, all liturgies have for Quadragesima Sunday the text of the Anglo-Saxon Halgan Dæg, Matt., IV, 1. A slight lack of correspondence is often indicated in the Table.

It will thus be seen that my purpose is a far-reaching one: to show, by clear tabulation, the vitality of the Evangelarium, and the persistence of many of the earliest of Church lessons; to explain how, after centuries of life, certain Gospels disappeared from the services of Feast and Fast; and finally to give the proper historical value to Anglo-Saxon Rubric and to Modern text. If my statistics succeed in this, they will

[1] This is very important, as it contains the first arrangement of Gospels; but it is hard to compare, as it reckons by fixed fasts, particularly after June 29th.

seem to me an Ἰχθύς, full of a suggestiveness far transcending its literal meaning.

Rubrics to the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.[1]

Dec. 24.—Midwinter Mass-even, Matt., I, 18. C; B[50]; W[89]; E (Christmas Day).

Dec. 25.—Midwinter Mass-night for the first Mass, Luke, II, 1. C; G[8]; B[44], In Galli Cantu Nat. Dom; B[45], In Aurora, Luke, II, 15; B[46], Ad summam missam, John, I, 21; A., I, II; W[90]; R, Midnight; L.

Dec. 26.—St. Stephen's Mass-day, Matt., XXIII, 34. C; W[91]; P. E; R.

Dec. 27.—St. John the Evangelist's Mass-day, John, XXI, 19. C; B[35]; W[92], John, XXI, 15; E; P. E; R.

Dec. 28.—Cilda Mæsse-dæg, Matt., II, 13. C; B[36]; A., I, V, Matt., II, 1–15; E; P. E; R.

Dec. 31.—Mass-day of St. Sylvester and other Confessors, Matt., XXV, 14. C; G[9], Matt., XXV, 14–30.

Dec. 31.—Sunday between Midwinter's Mass-day and 12th Day, Luke, II, 33. W[94], 6th day after Christmas; R; L.

Jan. 1.—8th Mass-day to Midwinter, Luke, II, 21. C; B[22]; A., I, VI; W[95], New Year's Day; E; R; P. E, Luke, II, 15–21; L.

Jan. 5.—12th Even, Matt., II, 19. C; W[46], Vigil of Epiphany.

Jan. 6.—12th Day, Matt., II, 1. C; G[10]; B[37] (John, I, 29; Matt., III, 13; Mark, I, 9; Luke, III, 21); A., I, VII; K; W[97]; O. G[XV]; P. E; R; L;

Jan. 10.—Wednesday after 12th Day, Matt., III, 13. S. and H, Octave of Epiphany.

Jan. 12.—Friday after 12th Day, Matt., IV, 12. Y; H.

Jan. 12.—Friday, 1st Week after Epiphania Domini, John, VI, 27.

[1] Easter has been placed at March 25.

Jan. 13.—Đys gebyraŏ on þone VIII dæg Godes Ætywednysse, John, I, 29. C; B[23] (John, I, 29; Matt., III, 13; Mark, I, 9; Luke, III, 21); W[30], Sunday in Octaves of Epiphany.

Jan. 14.—Sunday, 2nd Week after Epiphany, John, II, 1. C; B[18]; A., II, IV; K; W[33]; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 21.—3rd Sunday after Epiphany, Matt., VII, 28. C, A., I, VIII, W[34], K, P. E, R, and L = Matt., VIII.

Jan. 21.—St. Agnes's Mass, Matt., XIII, 44. G[11–12], Matt., XIII, 41–52, XXV, 1.

Jan. 21.—Đys sceal on þone Sunnandæg þe man belycŏ Alleluia, Matt., XX, 1. Septuagesima Sunday, C; G[19]; A., II, V; W[37]; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 26.—Friday, 3rd Week after 12th Day, Matt., IV, 23. W[137]; S, 3rd Friday after Oct. Ep.

Jan. 28.—4th Sunday after 12th Day, Matt., VIII, 23. C; W[35]; K; P. E; R; L.

Jan. 28.—Đis sceal on þære wucan æfter þam þe man belycŏ Alleluia, Mark, IV, 3. C; A., II, VI. G[15], W[38], P. E, R and L, Luke, VIII, 4. All, Sexagesima Sunday.

Jan. 31.—Wednesday, 4th Week after 12th Day, Matt., VIII, 19. W[138] and S, Luke, IX, 57.

Feb. 2.—After the days of "Purgatio Mariae" are complete, Luke, II, 22. C; A., I, IX; B[24]; W[99], Candlemasday; E; P. E; R.

Feb. 4.—Sunnandæg ær Halgan Dæge, Mark, X, 46. A., I, X, Mark, X, 46. C, G, Bl. Hom, 15, W[39], P. E, R, and L = Luke, XVIII, 31–44. All, Quinquagesima Sunday.

Feb. 7.—To "Caput Jejunii" on Wednesday, Matt., VI, 16. C; W[145]; P. E; R; L.

Feb. 9.—Friday in "Cys-wucan," Matt., V, 43. C and W[46], Friday in Quinquagesima.

Feb. 10.—Saturday before "Halgan Dæg," Mark, VI, 45. C, Mark, VI, 47; W[147].

Feb. 11.—Halgan Dæg, Matt., IV, 1. Quadragesimia Sunday, C; G[16]; A., I, XV; Bl. Hom, 27; W[40]; P. E; R; L.

Feb. 12.—Monandæg on forman fæstendæg, Matt., XXV, 31. C; W[148]; B[53], John, II, 12.

Feb. 14.—Wednesday, 1st Lenten Week, Matt., XII, 38. C; W[150].

Feb. 15.—1st Thursday in Lent, Matt., XV, 21.

Feb. 16.—Friday, 1st Lenten Week, John, V, 1. C; B[54]; W[152].

Feb. 17.—Saturday, 1st Lenten Week, Matt., XVI, 28. C, Matt., XVII, 1; W[153], Matt., XVI, 1.

Feb. 17.—Sæterndæg on þære forman fæsten wucan, Mark, IX, 2.

Feb. 19.—Monday, 2nd Lenten Week, John, VIII, 21. C; W[154].

Feb. 21.—Wednesday, 2nd Lenten Week, Matt., XX, 17. W[156].

Feb. 22.—Thursday, 2nd Lenten Week, John, V, 30. C; W[157].

Feb. 23.—Friday, 2nd Lenten Week, Matt., XXI, 33. C; W[158].

Feb. 24.—Saturday, 2nd Lenten Week, Luke, XV, 11. C; W[159].

Feb. 25.—3rd Sunday in Lent, Luke, XI, 14; Matt., XII, 22. C, W[42], P. E, R, L = Luke, XI, 14; B[19] (Luke, XI, 14; Matt., IX, 32; Mark, III, 22); B[52], John, VIII, 1.

Feb. 27.—Tuesday, 3rd Lenten Week, Matt., XVIII, 15. W[161].

Feb. 28.—3rd Wednesday in Lent, Matt., XV, 1. C; W[162].

Feb. 28.—Wednesday, 3rd Lenten Week, Mark, VII, 1.

Mar. 1.—3rd Thursday in Lent (and to Pentecost on Saturday), Luke, IV, 38. C and W[163], John, VI, 27.

Mar. 2.—Friday, 3rd Lenten Week, John, IV, 6. C, John, IV, 6; W[164], John, IV, 4.

Mar. 3.—One day before Myd-fæsten, John, VIII, 1. W[165].

Mar. 4.—Mid-lenten Sunday, John, VI, 1. C; B[20]; A., I, XII; W[43]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 5.—Monday, 4th Lenten Week, John, II, 12. C; W[166].

Mar. 6.—Tuesday, Mid-lenten Week, John, VII, 14. C; W[167].

Mar. 7.—Wednesday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, IX, 1. C; W[168].

Mar. 8.—Thursday, 4th Lenten Week, John, V, 17. C; W[169].

Mar. 9.—Friday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, XI, 1. C; W[170].

Mar. 10.—Saturday, "Myd-fæstene wucan," John, VIII, 12. C; W[171].

Mar. 11.—Sunday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VIII, 46. C; G[18], Dominica in Passione; W[44]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 12.—Monday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VII, 32. C; W[172].

Mar. 12.—St. Gregory's Mass-day, Luke, XIX, 12.

Mar. 13.—Tuesday, 5th Week in Lent, John, VII, 1. C; W[173].

Mar. 14.—Wednesday, 5th Lenten Week and "to Cyric-halgungum," John, X, 22. First date, C, W[174]. Dedicatio Ecclesiae, B[42] (Luke, VI, 42; Matt., VII, 18); W[133], Luke, XIX, 1.

Mar. 15.—Thursday, 5th Lenten Week, John, VII, 40. W[175].

Mar. 16.—Two days before Palm Sunday, John, XI, 47. C; W[176]; Assmann, III, 67.

Mar. 17.—One day before Palm Sunday, John, VI, 53. C; W[177].

Mar. 18.—Palm Sunday, Matt., XXVI, 2. C, Matt., XXVI, 2; W[45], Matt., XXVII, 62; P. E, Matt., XXVII, 1–54; R, Matt., XXVII, XXVIII.

Mar. 18.—(4 weeks before Midwinter) and Palm Sunday, Luke, XIX, 29. A., I, XIV; II, XIV.

Mar. 19.—Monday, Palm Week, John, xii, 1. C; B[43]; W[178], J., xii, 4; S; Y; H; R; L; P. E, Mark, xiv, 1–72.

Mar. 20.—Tuesday, Palm Week, Mark, xv, 1; John, xii, 24. First text, R, P. E; second text, C, L.

Mar. 21.—(St. Paul's Mass-day) and St. Benedict's, Matt., xix, 27. B[25] (Matt., xix, 27; Mark, viii, 27; Luke, ix, 18).

Mar. 21.—Wednesday, Palm Week, Luke, xxii, 1. C; P. E; R; L, Luke, xxii, 1–xxiii, 42.

Mar. 22.—Thursday before Easter, John, xiii, 1. C; B[59], In Cena Dominī; Assmann, iii, xiii; O. G[xviii]; R; L; W[179], John, xviii, 1; P. E, Luke, xxiii, 1–49.

Mar. 23.—Đis Passio gebyrað on Langa Frige-dæg, John, xviii, 1. C, R, and L = John, xviii, 1–xix, 42; W[180], J., xviii ult. and xix; P. E, John, xix, 1–37.

Mar. 24.—Easter Even, Matt., xxviii, 1. C; B[4] (Matt., xxviii, 1; Luke, xxiv, 1; John, xx, 1); W[181]; R; E; P. E, Matt., xxvii, 57–66.

Mar. 25.—Easter Day, Mark, xv, 47, xvi. C; G[21], Matt., xvi, 1–17; A., i, xv, Matt., xxvi, 62 sq.; W[46], Matt., xxviii, 1; R and L, Mark, xvi, 1–7; P. E, John, xx, 1–10.

Mar. 26.—2nd Easter Day, Luke, xxiv, 13. C; G[23]; A., ii, xvi; W[182]; P. E; R; L.

Mar. 27.—3rd Easter Day, Luke, xxiv, 36. C; P. E; R; B[5] (Luke, xxiv, 36; John, xx, 19).

Mar. 28.—Wednesday, Easter Week, John, xxi, 1. C; G[24]; A., ii, xvii; W[184].

Mar. 29.—Thursday, Easter Week, John, xx, 11. C; G[25]; W[185].

Mar. 30.—Friday, Easter Week, Matt., xxviii, 16. C; B[6]; W[186].

Mar. 31.—Saturday, Easter Week, John, xx, 1. G[22]; W[187].

April 1.—Seven nights after Easter, John, xx, 19. C, Saturday, Easter Week; G[26], In Octavis Paschae; A., I, xvi; W[47]; P. E; R; L.

April 4.—Wednesday, 2nd Easter Week, Matt., ix, 14; Matt., xxviii, 8. First text, W[191]; second text, C, S, Y, H.

April 8.—Sunday, two weeks after Easter, John, xvi, 16. C, Dom. ii post Oct. Pas.; B[1].

April 8.—Sunday, fourteen nights after (uppan) Easter, John, x, 11. C; G[14], John, x, 11–16; A., I, xvii; W[48]; P. E; R; L.

April 18.—Wednesday, 3rd week after Easter, John, iii, 25.

April 22.—Sunday, 4th week after Easter, John, xvi, 5. C, Dom. iii post Oct. Pasch.; B[2], 3rd Sunday after Easter; W[50]; P. E; R; L.

April 22.—4th Sunday after Easter, John, xvi, 23. B[3]; W[51], P. E, R, and L = 5th Sunday after Easter.

April 25.—Wednesday, 4th week after Easter, John, xvii, 11. W[194]; S; Y; H.

April 27.—Friday, 4th week after Easter, John, xiii, 33. S; Y; H.

April 28.—Mass of St. Vitalis, John, xv, 1.

May 1.—Mass of Philip and James, John, xiv, 1. A., ii, xiii (no part Gospel); W[103]; P. E; R.

April 30–May 2.—To Gangdagon, Matt., vii, 7.

April 30–May 1.—To Gangdagon þæge twegen dagas, Luke, xi, 5. B[7], In Letania Majore et Minore (Luke, xi, 5; Matt., vii); B[56], In Let. Maj., Luke, xi, 9; A., I, xix, Tuesday, Let. Maj., Luke, xi, 2; compare A., ii, xxi, xxii, xxiii, no text; S.

May 2.—On Wodnesdæg on þære Gang-wucan to þam vigilian, John, xvii, 1. C; A., ii, xxv; W[197].

May 3.—Thursday within Gang-week, Mark, xvi, 14. C; G[29], In Ascensio Domini; B[57], Luke, xxiv, 44; O. G[lxv], John, iii, 16; W[104]; P. E; R; L.

May 6.—Sunday after "Ascensio Domini," John, xv, 26. C; W[52]; P. E; R; L.

May 9.—Wednesday after "Ascensio Domini," John, xv, 7.

May 12.—Pentecost Mass-even, John, xiv, 15. C; B[9], In festo S. Pent.; P. E, Whit-sunday, John, xiv, 15–31; W[199], Vigil of Whit-sunday.

May 13.—Pentecost Mass-day, John, xiv, 23. C; G[30]; W[53]; R; L.

May 14.—2nd Mass-day in Pentecost, John, iii, 16. C; W[200]; P. E; R.

May 15.—Tuesday, Pentecost Week, John, x, 1. C; W[201]; P. E; R.

May 16.—Wednesday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Luke, ix, 12; John, vi, 44. Second text, C, W[202].

May 17.—Thursday, Pentecost Week, Luke, ix, 1. C; W[203].

May 18.—Friday, Pentecost Week, Luke, v, 17. C; W[204].

May 18.—Friday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Luke, xviii, 40.

May 19.—Saturday, Pentecost Week "to þam ymbrene," Matt., xx, 19.

May 19.—(3rd Thursday in Lent) and to Pentecost on Saturday, Luke, iv, 38. C and W[205], Trinity Eve.

May 20.—(Over Easter "be þære rode") and 1st Sunday after Pentecost, John, iii, 1. C; W[54]; P. E; L; R, Matt., xxviii, 18; all but C, Trinity Sunday.

May 23.—Wednesday after Pentecost, Luke, xx, 27.

May 25.—Friday after Pentecost, Luke, xii, 11. C.

May 27.—2nd Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, xvi, 19. G[40]; C; A., i, xxiii; W[1]; P. E; L; G[36] and R, Luke, xiv, 16–24.

May 30.—2nd Wednesday after Pentecost, Matt., v, 17. C; W[207], 1st Wednesday after Corpus Christi; S, Y and H, Wednesday after Trinity.

June 1.—2nd Friday after Pentecost, Luke, xvii, 1. Y.

June 3.—3rd Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, xiv, 16. G[34] and R, Luke, xv, 1–10; A., ii, xxvi; W[2]; P. E; L.

June 6.—Wednesday, 3rd Week after Pentecost, Matt., v, 25. W[209], 3rd Wednesday after Corpus Christi.

June 10.—4th Sunday after Pentecost, Matt., v, 20; vii, 1; Luke, xv, 1. C; A., i, xxiv; W[3]; P. E; R; L. All, Luke, xv, 1.

June 15.—4th Friday after Pentecost, Mark, xi, 11. Y.

June 17.—5th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, xvi, 36. C; W[4]; P. E; L; A., ii, xxix, Luke, viii, 1; R, Matt., v, 20.

June 20.—Wednesday, 5th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xxi, 23. W[211], 5th Wednesday after Trinity, Luke, viii, 22.

June 22.—Friday, 5th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xvii, 10. S, 4th Wednesday after Trinity.

June 23.—Midsummer Mass-even, Luke, i, 1. C, Vigil of St. John Baptist, Luke, i, 5; B[39], W[105], Bl. Hom., xiv, A., i, xxv = Nativity of St. John Baptist.

June 24.—Midsummer Mass-day, Luke, i, 57. C, viii Kal. Jul; B[29] (Matt., xiv, 1; Mark, xvi, 14; Luke, ix, 7); B[32]; W[106]; E; P. E; R.

June 24.—6th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, v, 1. C; B[10]; W[5]; P. E; L; R, Mark, viii, 1.

June 27.—Wednesday, 6th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xi, 25. W[212], Mark, x, 17.

June 29.—Friday, 6th Week after Pentecost, Matt., x, 13.

June 28.—St. Peter's Mass-even, John, xxi, 15. C, B[26], and W[107], Vigils of Peter and Paul.

June 29.—St. Peter's Mass-day, Mark, viii, 27; Matt., xvi, 13. C, A., i, xxvi, E, P. E, and R, Matt., xvi, 13; B[27] (Matt., xvi, 13; Mark, viii, 27; Luke, ix, 8).

June 30 (29).—St. Paul's Mass-day (and St. Benedict's), Matt., xix, 27. A., i, xxvii.

July 1.—7th Week after Pentecost, Matt., v, 20. W[6]; P. E; R, Matt., vii, 15.

July 4.—Wednesday, 7th Week after Pentecost, Mark, x, 17. S; Y; H; W[213], Matt., xii.

July 6.—Friday, 7th Week after Pentecost, Mark, v, 1. Y; H.

July 6.—In Octavas Petri et Pauli, Matt., xiv, 22. W[110].

July 8.—8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xv, 32; Mark, viii, 1. Both texts, B[11]; second text, W[7], P. E, and L.

July 11.—Wednesday, 8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xvi, 1. Y, 7th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 13.—Friday, 8th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xii, 1. Y; H.

July 15.—9th Week after Pentecost, Matt., vii, 15. A., ii, xxx; W[8]; P. E; L.

July 18.—Wednesday, 9th Week after Pentecost, Mark, ix, 38. S; Y; H; W[214], 8th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 20.—Friday, 9th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xxiii, 13. Y; H.

July 22.—10th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xvi, 10. W[215], S, Y, and H, 9th Wednesday after Trinity.

July 27.—Friday, 10th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xi, 37.

July 29.—11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xviii, 10; xix, 41. First text, O. G[xxxviii]; second text, A., i, xxviii, W[10], P. E, and L; R, Mark, vii, 31.

Aug. 1.—Wednesday, 11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xxi, 20. Y; H.

Aug. 3.—Friday, 11th Week after Pentecost, Luke, xxi, 34. Y; H.

Aug. 8.—Wednesday, 12th Week after Pentecost, Matt., xii, 30. H.

Aug. 10.—Friday, 12th Week after Pentecost, Mark, xii, 28.

Aug. 10.—St. Lawrence's Massday, Matt., xvi, 24.

Aug. 12.—13th Week after Pentecost, Mark, vii, 31. C, 2nd Sunday after St. Lawrence; B[38]; W[12]; P. E; L; R, Luke, xvii, 11.

Aug. 15.—Assumption of Virgin Mary (and Saturdays "be Maria"), Luke, x, 38. C; A., II, XXXIV; W[114]; O. G.[VIII]; R.

Aug. 19.—14th Week after Pentecost, Luke, x, 23. C, 3rd Sunday after St. Lawrence; O. G.[XIX]; W[13]; P. E; L; B[12], Matt., XV; R, Matt., VI, 24–33.

Aug. 22.—Wednesday, 14th Week after Pentecost, Matt., XII, 14. W[218], 13th Wednesday after Trinity; S; Y; H.

Aug. 28.—Mass of St. Augustine and St. Hermes, Luke, XIV, 25.

Aug. 29.—"Innan hærfeste" at St. John's Mass, Mark, VI, 17. W[116], Beheading of St. John Baptist.

Aug. 29.—Wednesday, 15th Week after Pentecost, Mark, I, 40.

Sept. 2.—16th Week after Pentecost, Luke, XVII, 11. A., II, XXXVI.

Sept. 2.—16th Sunday after Pentecost, Matt., VI, 24. W[15]; P. E; L; R, Luke, XIV, 1–11.

Sept. 5.—Wednesday, 16th Week after Pentecost (and Friday in "Cys-wucan"), Matt., V, 31, 43.

Sept. 9.—17th Sunday after Pentecost, Luke, VII, 11. B[14]; A., I, XXXIII; W[16]; P. E; L; R, Matt., XXII, 35.

Sept. 12.—Wednesday at the Fast before Harvest Equinox, Matt., XVII, 14.

Sept. 12.—To the Embers within Harvest on Wednesday, Mark, IX, 17. W[230].

Sept. 14.—To the Embers within Harvest on Friday, Luke, VII, 36. G[33], W[231].

Sept. 15.—To the Embers within Harvest on Saturday, Luke, XIII, 6. G[31]; W[232].

Sept. 20.—St. Matthew's Mass-even, Matt., IX, 9. B[30] (Matt., IX, 9; Mark, II, 14; Luke, V, 27), A., II, XXXVII; W[119], Vigil, Luke, V, 27; W[120], Mass-day; E; P. E; R.

Sept. 23.—19th Week after Pentecost, Luke, XIV, 1. P. E; W[15] and L, Matt., XXII, 34–46; R, Matt., XXII, 1–14.

Sept. 29.—St. Michael's Mass-day, Matt., XVIII, 1. A., I, XXXIV, p. 510; W[121]; P. E; R.

Sept. 30.—Sunday, 20th Week after Pentecost, Matt., IX, 1. W[19]; P. E; L; R, John, IV, 46.

Oct. 7.—After Pentecost on 21st Week on Sunday, John, IV, 46. A., I, XXXV, W[20], P. E, and L, Matt., XXII, 1; R, Matt., XVIII, 23–35.

Oct. 19.—Friday, 22nd Week after Pentecost, Matt., VIII, 14. Y.

Oct. 21.—23rd Week after Pentecost, Matt., XVIII, 23; XXII, 15. W[22], P. E, and L, Matt., XVIII, 23; R, Matt., IX, 18–26.

Nov. 1.—All Saints' Mass, Matt., V, 1. A., I, XXXVI, p. 548; W[123]; P. E; R.

Nov. 4.—Sunday, 25th Week after Pentecost, Matt., IX, 18. W[24]; P. E; L.

Nov. 25.—Four weeks before Midwinter (and Palm Sunday), Luke, XIX, 29.

Nov. 25.—Four weeks before Midwinter, Mark, XI, 1; Matt., XXI, 1. W[26], S, Y, and P. E, 1st Sunday in Advent, Matt., XXI, 1; O. G.[LXIX], R, and L, Luke, XXI, 25.

Nov. 29.—St. Andrew's Mass-even, John, I, 35. W[86], John, I, 29.

Nov. 30.—St. Andrew's Mass-day, Matt., IV, 18. G[5]; A., I, XXXVIII; W[87]; R; P. E; B[34], John, I, 29.

Dec. 5.—Wednesday, 3rd Week before Midwinter, Matt., III, 1. Y and H, Wednesday before Christmas; W[125], 1st Friday in Advent.

Dec. 7.—Three weeks before Midwinter on Friday, John, I, 15. B[49]; S; Y; W[127], 2nd Friday in Advent.

Dec. 16.—Week before Midwinter, Matt., XI, 2. G[6], P. E, and L, 3rd Sunday in Advent.

Dec. 19.—Wednesday to the Embers before Midwinter, Luke, I, 26. W[128], 3rd Wednesday in Advent, Luke, I, 39.

Dec. 21.—Friday to the same Fast, Luke, I, 39.

Dec. 22.—Þis gebyraþ on Sæterndæg to æwfæstene ær myddan-wintra, Luke, III, 1. G[20], Sabbato Quat. Temp. ante Nat. Christi.

Dec. 23.—Sunday before Midwinter, John, I, 19. C, Week before Nat. Domini; G[7], W[29], P. E, and L, 4th Sunday in Advent; R, Luke, III, 1–6.

General Rubrics.

——. Mass of one Apostle, Luke, X, 1. A., II, XL, no text; Durham Ritual, 81, Vigils, no text.

——. Apostles' Mass-days, John, XV, 12. A., II, XLI, In Natale Plurimorum Apostolorum, Luke, X, 1.

——. A Confessor's Mass-day, Matt., X, 26. A., II, XLIII, In Natale unius Confessoris, no text; D. R, 188, 15, no text.

——. Mass-day of Many Confessors, Luke, XII, 35; Matt., XXIV, 42. First text, W[82].

——. A Martyr's Mass-day, Matt., X, 37. D. R, 84, "In vigilia unius Martyris."

——. Mass-day of Many Martyrs, Matt., X, 16. A., II, XLII; D. R, 92–162, no text.

——. Women Saints' Mass-day, Matt., XXV, 1. A., II, XLIV, In Natale SS. Virginum, no text.

Midwinter.

I have followed Bouterwek (*Cælendcwide*) in beginning my Notes to the Rubrics at Midwinter, because that was regarded by many of the Anglo-Saxons as the proper beginning of the year, and because it serves to introduce other dates,—8th Mass-day to Midwinter, 12th Even, 12th Day, etc.—that would not otherwise be understood.

Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV (M. *P. L.*, 90, 356; Giles, VI, 178), tells us: "Incipiebant (i. e., antiqui Anglorum populi) autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Januariarum die ubi nunc Natale Domini celebramus. Et ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo Modranicht, id est, matrum noctem appellabant ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in eo pervigiles agebant."

This has caused much discussion. Hickes, *Antiquae Litt. Septent., etc.*, I, 309, would explain Moedrenicht or Modrenicht as "parens aliarum noctium." Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass), I, 753, accepts Bede's explanation, but suggests in a note that "modre nicht" may be "muntere nacht," watchful night. Bouterwek (*Cædmon*, Glossary s. v. Niht) shares Hickes' view that the night received its name, because with it the nights (days) of the New Year began. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. "Weihen" renders it "der Mütter Nächte;" and Mogk, "Mythologie," § 84, Paul's *Grundriss*, I, 1126, says of the word: "Ein Wort das auf die Verehrung der Matronae römisch-germanischer Inschriften der altn. dísar hinweist: es sind die Nächte die den weiblichen Schutzgeistern den Seelen Verstorbener geweiht sind." Elton, *Origins of English History* (1890), 257, 272, cites many references to the Germanic "Mothers" myth, but thinks that Modrenicht was so called because the women took part in a nocturnal watch. This is on a par with Turner's suggestion, *History of Anglo-Saxons* (1836), I, 233, that the night received its name from the worship of the Sun as a female divinity. The list of etymologies is full enough. I shall only call to mind, in this connection, the mysterious "Mothers" of Goethe's *Faust* (II, 5) and their classical origin (Taylor, Ed., 1890, II, 350).

I shall consider the beginnings of the Anglo-Saxon Year under 8th Mass-day to Midwinter.

The name Midwinter cannot properly be understood without a discussion of the dates that marked the beginning of the seasons. *Cælendcwide, The Martyr Book* (*Shrine;* Wanley's

Catalogue, 105–109), and Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 312, divide them thus:

7th of	February.	Beginning of	Spring.
9th "	May.	" "	Summer.
7th "	August.	" "	Autumn.
7th "	November.	" "	Winter.

Elene, 1226, does not intend a different date:

" Wæs þa lencten agan
Butan VI nihtum. ær Sumeres cyme
On Maias Kalendas."

This apparent discrepancy is easily explained. Kalendae is used broadly (" Penitentiale Ecgberti," Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391) and implies here V Nonas (*Cælendcwide*, 84).

Kal. Cod. Cott. Titus, D. XXVII, and Vitellius, E. XVII (cited by Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 74) prove, by the two dates given for the beginning of the seasons, that the Spanish method (Isidor, *De Natura Rerum*, c. 7, § 5) and the Julian one were both well known. Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 3, 21, p. 311, is a witness to the Spanish use in his day:

" Festum Clementis (Nov. 25) Hyems caput est Orientis
Cedit Hyems retro, cathedrato sermone Petri (Feb. 22),
Perfugat Urbanus (May 25), aestate Symphorianus (Aug. 25)."

For discussion of the Calendars, compare Piper, Id., 84.

A few words now upon the times of Solstices and Equinoxes. Midwinter (Dec. 25) and Midsummer (June 24) were regarded by many as the Solstices; by these followers of Roman custom the Equinoxes were placed at March 25th and September 24th. Ælfric adheres to this, in his Homily on St. John the Baptist's Day (June 24), Thorpe, I, 356, translated directly from the 287th Homily of St. Augustine (Förster, *Anglia*, XVI, has overlooked this connection): " Nis butan getacnunge þæt þæs bydeles acennednys on ðære tide wæs gefremod ðe se woroldlica dæg wanigende bið and on Dryhtnes gebyrd-tide weaxende bið." The *Book of Martyrs*

(*Shrine*, 95, 22; Wanley's *Catalogue*, 107) gives under June 24th "solstitia ðæt is on ure geðeode, sungihte." Bouterwek, *Cælendcwide*, 37, shows that "solstitium hiemale secundum quosdam" is mentioned in the Ephemeris of Bede under December 24th; compare Bede, *De Temporibus*, VII (M. *P. L.*, 90, 283; Giles, VI, 126): "Solstitia et Aequinoctia bina putantur VIII Kalendas Januarii et Julii, Aprelisque et Octobris." Bede[2], *Leechdoms*, III, 257, tells us, however, "upon the authority of Easterns and Egyptians and all men best acquainted with Arithmetic, that the Lenten Equinox is upon XII Kal. Aprilis, St. Benedict's Mass-day, and that the other three tides are adjusted by this." Byrhtferth, *Anglia*, VIII, 299, 15; 311, 28, and the Horologium (*supra*) follow the modern method (cf., however, Byrhtferð, 84, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 8). Piper, *Kalendarien*, 83, shows how much other Calendars and Menologies varied in this respect.

Solstices and Equinoxes subdivided each season into two divisions: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 895, A. on foran winter, B. C. on forewerdne winter; 913, B. C. on foreweardne sumor, on ufeweardne hærfest. Ðæs oþre geare on ufan midne winter and þy ilcan geare foran to middan wintra; 923, A. on ufan hærfest.

Length of Midwinter. — Passages from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* show that this was a period of some duration: C. 1016, Innan þære midwintres tide . . . . þa æfter þat tide; D. 1053, Hit wæs se micla wind on Thomes mæsse niht and eac [eall] þa midewinter. It closed legally on 12th Day: Ælfred, V, 43, Schmid, 96, Eallum friðum mannum ðas dagas sien forgiefene butan þeowum mannum and esne wyrhtum XII dagas on Gehhol; *Leechdoms*, III, 164, her seȝð ymb drihtnes ȝebyrd, ymb þa XII niht of his tide. But the Christmas Season seems to have lasted twenty days: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 878, on midne winter ofer twelftan niht; Ælfric's *Canons*, XXXVI, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 450, and fæste ælce man twelf monað ælcne Frigedæg buton fram Eastron oð Pentecosten, and eft fram middan wintra oð seofon niht ofer twelftan dæg; Canute, I,

16, 1, Schmid, 264, "and ne þearf man na fæsten . . . . of middan wintra oð octabas Epiphaniae, þæt is seofon niht ofer twelftan mæsse-dæg; compare Æthelred, v, 18, Schmid, 224; vi, 25, Schmid, 230.

Joannes Belethus, writing at Paris in 1160 (Durand, p. 338, c. 56), calls the time between Christmas and the Octaves of Epiphany "tempus gaudii, tempus regressionis." The Anglo-Saxons could have used fittingly the same expression. The Midwinter time could, however, be confined to a week. Æthelred, v, 98, where Schmid's text (p. 224) reads, "oð octabas Epiphanie," D, MS. C. C. 201 has, "xiiii niht ofer midde wintres tide." All difficulty is removed if we suppose Midwinter to end at the close of Yule-week.

Yule and Yule Feast.

In Anglo-Saxon texts Geol or Gehhol is often used for the date of the Nativity: *Shrine*, 29, 26, ærestan Geoheldæig; 82, 11, ær Geolum; 47, 13, on þone eahteþan Geoheldæig; 144, 14, se ærysta dæg in natale domini, þæt is ærysta Geohheldæg; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv, xxi (19), 318, 17, þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol (Giles, iii, p. 84, 28, Epiphaniae); Laws of Ælfred, v, 5, Th., *A. L.*, 29, Schmid, 74, Gêhhol (Cod. B, C. C. 383 (19, 2), H, Textus Roffensis, Geol, but on margin of H, Geohhol); Id., v, 43, Th., *A. L.*, 40, Schmid, 96, Gehhol (H. Gehhel). *The Century Dictionary* s. v. Yule is wrong in regarding the variants of Geol as mere blunders.

The etymology of Geol has never been definitely settled. Of the dozen etymologies, varying in degrees of improbability, I name the most important. Miss Elstob (*Homily on Gregory*, p. 29, Appendix) "follows the best antiquarians of her time in deriving it from ol(ale). I in Iol, Iul (Cimbri) as ge and gi in Gehol are premised to make it emphatic." She might have added that i or ge will serve as an ale-multiplicative. Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, i, 156, cites several of the old explanations of the word, all of them on a par with

that given by Spelman, *Glossary* s. v. Gula. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 617–624, 702, although he regarded Gothic Iiuleis as a cognate, was inclined to connect Gehhol with Gehweol (wheel), it being long the custom to roll a wheel at the time of the Summer Solstice to signify that the Sun had reached the highest place of his circle (Durand, *Rationale*, VII, 14; Belethus, p. 365, c. 17). This is to be compared with an explanation of the Saxons themselves; Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV (M. *P. L.*, 90, 356; Giles, VI, 178): "Menses Giuli a conversione solis in auctum diei, quia unus eorum præcedit, alius subsequitur, nomina accipiunt" (compare *Shrine*, 153, 23–26; *Cælendcwide*, 220–221, Bouterwek's Notes). Fick, *Indogermanisches Wörterbuch*, VII, 245, connects Yule with A.-S. gylan, Icelandic yla, Germanic jolen, johlen; the Gothic jiuleis seems to me to be the crux here, but it is not, like the other etymologies, an absurdity and is quoted with approval by Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildung*, § 74, p. 35, and by Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary* s. v. Yule. Yet another etymology has been recently discussed by Mogk, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, 1125: "Altn. jol, urnord, jul, hängt vielmehr sprachlich zusammen mid Ags. geohhol (Kluge, *Englische Studien*, IX, 311) das auf urgerm. jehwela zurückgeht und dasselbe wie lat. joculus ist (Bugge, *Ark. f. n. Fil.*, IV, 135)."

Descriptions of Midwinter festivities among the heathen Saxons will be found: Atkinson's *Glossary of Cleveland Dialect*, 1868, s. v. Yule Cake; Hazlitt's *Popular Antiquities*, l. c.; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 15, 215, 702, 1240; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, 402; Cleasby-Vigfusson, *Icelandic Dictionary*, s. v. Jol; *Century Dictionary*, s. v. Yule; Mogk, l. c. Mogk points out that to the early Germans "every day of Yule was full of importance for weather and fate, every dream was fulfilled:" traces of this superstition are found among the Anglo-Saxons, *Leechdoms*, III, 162, 24, 166, 16. *Concordia*, 490, gives at some length the Midwinter monkish observances; and the Anglo-Saxon Laws show the layman's regard for Christmas-tide (Schmid's Index).

It is not necessary to add any examples of Midwinter or of its synonyms, Christmas and the Nativity, to those cited by Bouterwek, *Cælendcwide*, 38.

On Cylda Mæsse-dæg.

Marshall's Note to the Rubric (*Gospels*, p. 522) is grammatical: "Hic obiter notent Grammatici Cild in hoc versiculo usurpari pluraliter pro Pueros." I may supplement this, and call attention to MS. Cotton, Tiberius A., III, fol. 30b (*Leechdoms*, III, 185), where the natural gender of "cild" is so clearly masculine, that the word is opposed to "mæden" in about thirty cases: "Mona se oðer on eallum þingum to nytlic ys bycgan . . . . cild acenned wis, milde, ȝeap, ȝesælig; mæden eallswa." In *Ben. Rule*, Gloss, 115, 14; 106, 11, Cildra = Pueri; compare Bosworth-Toller, s. v. Cild.

The day is mentioned elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon: *Durham Ritual*, p. 47, In Natale Innocentium; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, V; *Concordia*, 521, betwyx cilda-mæsse-dæge (innocentium festivitatem et Octabas Domini); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A. 963, on Cildamæssedæg; C. D. 1065, E. 1066, on Cilda-mæssedæig.

Eighth Mass-day to Midwinter.

Apart from its importance as the Octaves of the Nativity and the time of the Circumcision of the Lord, this date is worthy of consideration as the proper beginning of the Anglo-Saxon Civil Year.

The Anglo-Saxon Year had no less than five acknowledged beginnings:

I. Advent.
II. Christmas.
III. 8th Mass-day to Midwinter.
IV. Vernal Equinox (March 21st).
V. Easter—Beginning of Lunar Year.

I.

Although the beginning of the Church Year was not placed definitely at the opening of Advent until after the Conquest (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 89), Ælfric (*Homilies*, I, 98) can speak of the season thus (Thorpe's Translation): "Some of our service-books begin at the Lord's Advent, but not on that account is that the beginning of the year, nor is it with any reason placed on this day; though our calendars, in this place, repeat it."

II.

According to Bede (cited *supra*) the heathen English began their year at Mid-winter; and their Christian descendants followed their example; compare *Shrine*, 29, 26, on þone forman dæig in geare, ðæt is on ðone ærestan geoheldæig, eall Cristes folc wurðiað Cristes acennednesse. The Anglo-Saxon Horology (*supra*) begins at Christmas, and Ælfric's *Homilies* open with the Nativity.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* often begins the year at Christmas. In the case of many of the Annals, it is extremely difficult to decide when their year opens, but the following years show, both by context and order of the entries, unmistakable signs of a midwinter beginning: A°. 763, 827, 878, 891 (change of hands in A makes this Annal doubtful), 913 B. C. (Ðæs oðre geare on ufan midne winter and þy ilcan geare foran to middan wintra), 963 A., 1009–1010 (doubtful, but point to Easter beginning), 1012 D. E. F., 1014 C. D. E. F., 1039 E., 1043–1053 (the most confused place in the *Chronicle*, but C. differs from other MSS. in beginning at Easter), 1045–1048 (D. E. F.), 1053 D., 1063 D., 1066 E., 1078 D., 1070–1090 E. (these "Wulfstan Annals" open at Easter), E. 1091, 1094–1096 (January 1st is here called "gearesdæg"), 1097 sq. (all Peterborough Annals (E.) begin at Christmas). The above represents more definite results than have before been obtained, but the chronology of the Annals has been discussed in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848), by Sir T. D. Hardy, "Chapter on the Chronology

of Mediæval Historians;" by the anonymous author of the *Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle*, 1830, who drew largely from St. Allais' *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates* (Paris, 1818); and by Earle in the Introduction to his Edition of the *Chronicle*. In his excellent essay Hardy notices—though this was done a century earlier in the MS. Notes of Waterland—that Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and Henry of Huntingdon all employ a Christmas year-beginning.

III.

Cœlendcwide begins the year on January 1st (l. 3–7):

"On þy eahteoþan dæg
Hælend gehaten heofonrices weard.
Swa ða sylfan tiid sîde herigeas
folc unmæte, habbaþ foreweard gear
forðy se kalend us cymeð geþincged," etc.

January 1st is recognized once in the *Chronicle* as the beginning of the year (1096); and its right to that place is elsewhere firmly established: *Shrine*, 47, 10, "On ðone eahteðan ȝeohhel dæg biþ þæs monðes fruma þe man nemneð januarius þæt is on ure ȝeðeode se æftera ȝeola þæt biþ se æresta ȝeares monaþ mid romwarum and mid us;" Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 305, 28: "Ærest we willaþ fon on Januarium forðon he ys heafodhebba and eac þæs geares geendung. Swa be him cwæð sum geþungen wita, 'Januarius dictus est quod limes et janua anni'" (this remarkable etymology is found in Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, XII, M. *P. L.*, 90, 331, doubtless Byrhtferð's source). As the first day of the year, January 1st was the time of prognostications; compare "Prophezeiung aus dem 1 Januar für das Jahr," *Anglia*, XI, 369 (Vespasian D. 14, fol. 75 b), "Ðonne forme geares[1] dæig byð Sunendæg," etc.

A devout Churchman like Ælfric acknowledges under protest this beginning of the year (*Homilies*, I, 98): "We have

[1] Cf. Horstman, *Lives of Saints*, E. E. T. Soc., 87, p. 177, § 28, l. 5:
"The furste feste þat in the gere comeȝ we cleopieȝ ȝeres dai
Ase ore loverd was circumciset," etc.
Cf. Orm, 4154, 4220, cited by Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide*, 18.

often heard that men call this day the day of the year (ȝearesdæg), as if this day were first in the circuit of the year; but we find no explanation in Christian books why this day is accounted the beginning of the year. . . . Now our calendar begins, according to the Roman institution on this day, not for any religious reason, but from old custom." As an example of the same feeling to-day, I quote from the *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 257; the Saxon Homilist of the 10th and the Anglican Prelate of the 19th Century use almost the same words: "January 1st was never in any way connected with the opening of the Christian year, and the religious observance of the day has never received any sanction from the Church except as the Octave of Christmas and the Feast of the Circumcision" (see Waterland's MS.).

Severe penalties were inflicted upon those who celebrated this day (Theodore, "Penitentiale" (673), XXVII, 19, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 293); yet as Byrthferð said (*Anglia*, VIII, 305, 31): "De Januario. Se forma dæg and eall se monð ys gehalgod mid Cristes gebyrd-tide."

IV.

Ælfric tells us (*Homilies*, I, 98): "þa ealdan Romani on hæðenum dagum ongunnon þæs geares ymbryne on ðysum dæge (January 1st); and ða Ebreiscan leoda on lenctenlicere emnihte; ða Greciscan on sumerlicum sunstede; and þa Egyptiscan ðeoda ongunnon heora geares getel on hærfeste. . . . Rihtlicost biᵭ geðuht þæt þæs geares anginn on ðam dæge sy gehæfd, þe se Ælmihtiga scyppend sunnan and monan and steorran and ealra tida anginn gesette; þæt is on þam dæge þe þæt Ebreisc folc heora geares getel onginnaᵭ." Ælfric is here drawing directly from Beda, *De Temporibus*, IX, M. *P. L.*, 90, 284, and *De Temporum Ratione*, VI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 317; compare Bede², IV, *Leechdoms*, III, 246 (Förster, *Anglia*, XVI, 30).

In MS. Cotton, Caligula A., XV, fol. 126b, *Leechdoms*, III, 153, the physician commences his series "on the month of March which men call Hlyda, since it is the beginning, after

right reckoning, of all the year and the Almighty God on that month created all creation." Ember days were reckoned from March ("Dialogus" of Ecgbert, XVI, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 324); November is glossed by "þæs nygeþan monþes" (*Ben. Rule*, Gloss, X, 39, 10); and Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, V (5), 278, 5, places Easter "æfter þæm feowerteogðan monan þæs ærestan monþes (mensis primi)."

Other Anglo-Saxon writers mention the Equinox in connection with the Creation; compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 40; 310, 5; *Shrine*, 62–64; *Hexameron* (Norman), 8, 12; Bouterwek, *Cælendewide*, 22, and *Cædmon*, LVIII, LX.[1] Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 32, p. 309, speaks of the honor paid by certain moderns to "primus dies seculi" (March 18th), and Chaucer refers to the belief in "Nonne Preestes Tale," B. 367:

> "Whan that the month in which the world bigan
> That highte March whan God first maked man
> Was complet," etc.

Some of the *Chronicle* Annals begin at Easter (*supra*), but the annalist may have in mind the Vernal Equinox. Waterland, MS. Notes, Earle and the Dissector of the *Chronicle* make the mistake of mentioning Lady Day (March 25th) as the beginning of the year. This had no such honor until the end of the 13th Century (compare Durand, *Rationale*, VIII, 32, p. 309; St. Allais, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, I, 17); and

[1]Anglo-Saxon poetry uses the Spring-beginning; compare Beowulf, 1133:

> "winter yðe beleac
> is-gebinde, oð ðat oðer com
> gear in geardas, swa nu gyt deð
> þa þe syngales sele bewitiað
> wuldor-torhtan weder. þa wæs winter scacen
> fæger foldan bearm."

The passage has occasioned much grammatical discussion. I differ with Heyne (Heyne-Socin Ed.) and regard "weder" as nominative and "sele" as objective; but, in any case, the year is represented as beginning in the Spring. Again, the cuckoo, called "sumeres weard" (Seefahrer, 53), "announces the year" (Guthlac, 716). It is needless to say that cuckoos do not sing in January, any more than English nightingales in July.

its new importance was doubtless due to the increased reverence for the Virgin so striking at that time (Waterton's *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (1879), 13, 130).

V.

Many of the Annals in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* begin at Easter (*supra*). The annalist may have had in mind the Vernal Equinox, but it was more probably on account of Easter's position as first day of the lunar year. A few references will show Easter's importance in this regard: Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XI, M. *P. L.*, 90, 341; Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 32; 322, 37; 329, 40; 330, 18, Easter dæg wæs se forman dæg on þære ealdan æ; Bede[2], *Leechdoms*, III, 248, 21, on sumum ȝeare bið se mona twelf siðon geniwod fram þære halgan eastertide oð eft eastron and on sumum geare he bið þreottyne siðon geedniwod.[1] See Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, II, 417.

12th Day.

There is little to be added to the Notes of Marshall and Bouterwek. The Feast of the Epiphany had many names in the Anglo-Saxon Church: *Shrine*, 48, 4, þone halgan dæg æt drihtnes ætywnesse þæt is se drihtnes halga twelfta dæg, drihtnes fullwihtes dæg; *Cœlendcwide*, 11, fulwihttid, twelfta dæg; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 104; II, 36, swutelung-dæg; *Concordia*, 531, Epiphania is glossed by ætywincge; *Durham Ritual*, p. 2, bæddæg; *A.-S. Chronicle*, E. 1118, on þære

[1] Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, XV, M. *P. L.*, 90, 336, tells us of Embolismus or year of 13 months. When this occurred, an extra or Intercalary month, Thrilidi, was assigned to the summer. This has been discussed by Hickes, *Ling. Vett. Sept.*, I, 216. A representation of the signs of the 13 Anglo-Saxon months on the porch of St. Margaret's Church, York, is described at length by Fowler, *Archæologia*, XLIV (1871), 146 sq. We have doubtless a reference to this year in the difficult passage, *Percy Folio MS.*, Hales' Ed., I, 26:

> "But how many merry monthes be in the yeere,
> There are 13 in May (I say?),
> The Midsummer Moone (Thrilidi?) is the Merryest of all,
> Next to the merry month of May."

wucan Theophanie. The honor done to Epiphany by the noble saint Etheldreda shows its importance in the Anglo-Saxon Church (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, IV, XXI, 318, 15): "And seldom in hatum baðum heo baðian wolde butan þam hyhstan symbelnessum and tidum æt Eastran, and æt Pentecosten and þy twelftan dege ofer Geochol." Truly, days of rejoicing! Compare Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (Epiphania, Bethphania, Perchentag); Piper, *Kalendarien*, 93; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 13–19; Hampson, *M. A. K.*, Glossary, s. v.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 257.

Septuagesima and Sexagesima.

R. Matt., XX, 1. On þone Sunnandæg þe man belycð Alleluia.

R. Mark, IV, 3. On þære wucan æfter þam þe man belycð Alleluia.

These Rubrics do not appear in Marshall, and therefore are not discussed by him, nor given by Schilter. They present, however, no difficulty.

In his Homily upon Septuagesima (II, 84 sq.), Ælfric tells us, upon the authority of Amalarius (*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, M. *P. L.*, 90, 993; compare *Anglia*, XVI, 48), "why the holy congregation omits in God's Church, 'Hallelujah' and 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo,' from this present day (Septuagesima) until the holy Easter-tide." Over the interminable "whys" we need not linger.

Two Cotton MSS., Titus D. 27, IV, and Caligula A., XV, fol. 126, give rules "De Alleluia die invenienda." These were mentioned by Wanley, *Catalogue*, 248, 234; remarked by Hampson, *Kalendarium*, s. v. Septuagesima; and the second has been printed by Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, III, 227: "On Kl.' Jan. ofer XVI Kl. Febr. loca hwær þu hæbbe X nihta eald monan, ofer þæt þone sunnan-dæg beluc Alleluia." Cockayne's translation, "Observe the Sunday. Hallelujah!" shows how completely he missed the point. By subjecting

the rule to proof we obtain January 21st, the Septuagesima of our year (see Tables). Byrhtferð's rules for finding Septuagesima (*Anglia*, VIII, 324, 31; 329, 2) are very similar.

Durand, *Rationale*, V, 6, 7, p. 165, tells us: "Alleluia was sung from Octaves of Epiphany to Septuagesima, and omitted until Pascha; from Pascha (Easter) to Pentecost Duplex Alleluia was chanted. It was included in the services from Pentecost to Advent and, like the Gloria in Excelsis, was omitted during the Advent season" (compare *Rationale*, V, 4, 4–6, p. 152; VI, 24, 18–19, p. 192; VI, 85, 4, p. 243; VI, 95, 1, p. 255; VI, 97, 5, p. 257; Belethus, p. 345; Kurtz, *Church History* (1861), I, Chap. 56, p. 219). In *Benedictine Rule*, XV, Alleluia is omitted only from Quadragesimal services; and nothing is said of this chant in the enumeration of Septuagesimal offices, *Concordia*, IV, l. 557. The custom indicated by the Rubrics persisted, however, in the English Church; Horstman, *Lives of the Saints*, 63, 411, p. 443: "From þat men loke Alleluia; for to com Ester-day;" compare Morris, *Old English Homilies*, X (*E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, p. 53). A Septuagesima ceremony of the Mediæval Church was the "burial of Alleluia" (Hone's *Everyday Book*, I, 100).

The correspondences between the Anglo-Saxon Rubrics for the days under discussion and the Gospels for Septuagesima and Sexagesima in other Churches are striking (Tables). A passage from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1127, Thorpe, p. 378, is interesting in this connection: "Þæt wæs þes Sunendaies þæt man singaþ 'Exurge quare o D.'" The chant mentioned is the Introit for Sexagesima Sunday (*Sarum Missal*, 1868, p. 49; Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, 1833, p. 115).

During the Septuagesimal season, all oaths and ordeals were forbidden among the Anglo-Saxons: Canute, 16, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 158; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XLIII, p. 208. Marriages were included in the interdict: Æthelred, VI, 25, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 137, Schmid, 230; V, 18, Schmid, 224.

Postquam impleti sunt dies Purgationis Mariae
(R. Luke, II, 1).

"And þæs embe ane niht
ðæt we Marian mæssan healdað
cyninges modor, forðam heo Crist on þam dæge
bearn wealdendes brohte to temple."
(*Cælendcwide*, 19.)

A few references to this day (Candlemas) may be useful. In *Concordia*, l. 542, the services at this feast are described in detail; compare Id. 484, oþ ciricgange sca. marian (usque ad purificationem sancte Marie). The day is mentioned often in the *Chronicle*,—I supplement Bouterwek's examples: C. D. E. 1014, to Candelmæssan; B. 1043 (C. 1044), x nihtum ær Candelmæssan; D. 1078; E. 1091, 1094, 1101, 1116, 1121, 1123, 1124–1127, 1140. It is found in the Laws: Æthelred, VIII, 12, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 146, Schmid, 244, leoht-scot gelæste man to Candelmæssan; Anhang, III, 4 pr., Schmid, 374, of Candel-mæsse oð Eastran (3 days work of Gebur); Canute, I, 12, Schmid, 263, Leoht-gesceot . . . . to þæm Sanctam Mariam clænsung (Codex Colbertinus reads, in vigilia S. Mariae in Augusto, i. e. Ascension of Mary on August 15th); compare Schmid, Glossary s. v. Lêoht-gescêot.

To Caput Jejunii on Wodnes-dæg.

This is the Rubric to Matt., VI, 16; and the day is mentioned often in canonical texts: *Benedictine Rule*, Gloss., XV, 45, 12; XLVIII, 82, 8, anginn læncten fæsten (caput quadragesime); XLI, 73, 15, oð andgin fæstenes (capud quadragesimae); Id., Translation, XV, 39, 16; XLI, 66, 14, oð lenctenes anginne (in caput quadragesime); XLVIII, 74, 3, oð lenctenfæsten = "Winteney," oð lenten (ad caput quadragesime); XLVIII, 74, 17, onforan lencten = "Winteney," 99, 25, on forme lentenes deige (in capite quadragesime); *Concordia*, 440, in heafod lencten fæstenes (in caput quadragesimae);

540, oþ heafud lenctenes; 564, 566, 597, fram heafde fæstenes on þam feorða weorcdæge; 1030, heafde on lencten. From these examples, one can see how completely Bosworth-Toller is mistaken when it mentions, "heafod-lencten-fæsten-es. n, the chief Lent-fast." The word is, of course, a literal translation of Caput Jejunii; and the form cited is to be regarded as a "crude form," to adopt Logeman nomenclature (*Ben. Rule*, Introduction, XXXIX); cf. angin læncten-fæsten (*supra*).

Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, XII, p. 260, gives us interesting information in regard to the Anglo-Saxon Ash-Wednesday:

> "þis spel gebyraþ seofon niht ær lenctene
> On ðysse wucan on Wodnesdæg swa swa ge sylfe witon
> Is Caput Jejunii þæt is on Englisc heafod lenctenes-fæstenes. . . .
> Nu ne beoð na feowertig daga
> On urum lenctenlicum fæstene gefylled
> Buton we fæston þærforan to þas feower dagas
> Wodnesdæg and þunres-dæg and frige-dæg and sæternes-dæg.
> Swa swa hit gefyrn geset, wæs þeah ðe we hit eow nu secgan.
> On þone Wodnes-dæg, wide geond eorðan
> Sacerdas bletsiaþ, swa swa hit geset is
> Clæne axan on cyrcan."

Lent proper, therefore, began with Quadragesima Sunday.

A few other references present themselves: *Canons of Edgar*, I, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 405, on þone wodnesdæg þe we hataþ caput jejunii; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XVII (22), 104, 9, on wodnesdæg þe byð caput jejunii; *Eccl. Inst.*, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 310, capite jejunii, capite quadragesime; *Durham Ritual*, 5, 6, 8. Compare Kurtz, *Church History*, I, § 36, p. 219; *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 266.

Friday in the "Cys-wucan."

The gospel for the day corresponds to the gospel for Friday in Quinquagesima in the *Liber Comitis* of Jerome and in the Sermons of Wycliffe. Marshall (Notes, p. 523) has given correctly the meaning of the Rubric, "die Veneris illo, qui statim sequitur diem Cinerum;" but from his citations of Spelman's *Concilia*, he omits *Eccl. Inst.*, XL (Spelman, 610;

Johnson, 476, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 486–487), which seems much to the point: "At this tide there should be abstinence from all delicacies, and soberly and chastely we should live. If any at this holy tide can forego *cheese* and eggs and fish and wine, it is a strict fast," etc., etc. Joannes Belethus, p. 360, tells us that, in his day (1147), eggs, *cheese* and milk were prohibited, but that (as in Saxon times) the enjoyment of these was permitted by St. Benedict. Compare here Bosworth-Toller's Note s. v. "Cys-wucan."

Butter-week in the early Church (Kurtz, *Church History*, I, 359, Par. 56, § 7) was the precursor of the Anglo-Saxon Cheese-week—the last week that cheese could be eaten before Lent began.

Halgan Dæg.

Halgan Dæg is Quadragesima Sunday.

(1). Marshall (p. 522) makes this general statement: "In citeriorum seculorum Rubricis quas vidi omnibus Evangelii paragraphus assignatur Dominicae primae Quadragesimali." Quadragesima is in fact the only day to which this reading, Matt., IV, 1, could with propriety be assigned, and a reference to my Tables will prove the truth of Marshall's observation.

(2). Marshall cites Spelman's *Concilia*, p. 610 (Thorpe, *A. L.*, 484), "on þære nihstan wucan ær halgan niht." The context shows that "halgan niht" is Quadragesima Sunday. Marshall's arguments from example may be supplemented.

(3). Halgan Dæg appears as a variant of Quadragesima. The MSS. (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXIII (47), 117, 14) differ widely: B. (C. C. C. C. S. 14) we forbeodaþ ordal and aþas . . . . fram Septuagesima oð fiftene niht ofer Eastran; K. (Cott. Tib. A., III) and for feowertinum nihtum ær haligan dæge; C. (C. C. C. C. S. 18) fram ær halgan dæge, etc. Like so much of Wulfstan, this passage is taken directly from the Laws (Canute, Schmid, I, 264), and fram Septuagesima oð XV nihton ofer Eastron.

(4). Wanley, *Catalogue*, 234, mentions a rule, "De Inveniendo die Sancto" (Caligula A., xv, fol. 127); and again, p. 284, "Regula ad inveniendum diem qui dicitur Alleluia, sicut et Diem Sanctum et Diem Paschatis" (Titus D., 27, iv). The first of these has been printed, Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, iii, 227: "On Februarius ofer vii id febr. loca hwær þu finde tweigra nihta ealde monan; ofer þæt on þone sunnan-dæg bið halga dæg." Cockayne renders this wrongly, "the next Sunday will be a holy day." If the rule is applied, the date discovered, February 11th, will be found to correspond to the Quadragesima Sunday of our arbitrary year (Tables). The rule given by Byrhtferð (*Anglia*, viii, 329, 13) for finding the First Sunday in Lent should be compared with the one that I have cited.

The Anglo-Saxon Lent.

Ælfric discusses in his Homily on Quadragesima (i, 178) the Lenten "tithing days"—he is translating from Gregory's 16th Homily (M. *P. L.*, 76, 1137, par. 1494): "Why is this fast computed for forty days? In every year there are reckoned three hundred and sixty-five days; now, if we tithe these yearly days, then will there be six and thirty tithing days (teoðing-dagas), and from this day to the holy Easter-day are two and forty days: take then the six Sundays from that number, then there will be six and thirty days of the year's tithing-days reckoned for our abstinence." Compare *Blickling Homilies*, 35, 17; *Lives of the Saints*, xii, 1; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, xvii (22), "Sermo in xl," p. 102, 19; lv (1a), 283, 28.

The addition of four days to the Lenten fast was made after the death of Gregory or, as some say, by Gregory himself (M. *P. L.*, 78, 307, "In Greg. *Lib. Sac.* Notae," 316; *Annotated Prayer Book*, 266), and is described by Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, xii (cited *supra*). Benedict (c. 530 A. D.) understood, therefore, by Caput Quadragesimae, Quadragesima Sunday; his 10th Century glossator and translator would

regard it as the day of Ashes. Ælfric, always orthodoxy itself, seems hardly to have regarded these four additional days as a part of Lent proper, but to have placed Quinquagesima Sunday "seofon niht ær lenctene." Since "lengtene" begins, therefore, on Quadragesima Sunday (Byrhtferð, 147, *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 32), and since Sunday is not a fast-day, R. Matt., XXV, 31, Monandæg se forman fæstendæg is perfectly correct (compare "Capitula secundum Lucam," Lindisfarne MS., Cott., Nero D., 4, fol. 129b, col. 1, Skeat, 1, "xlgisima feria II"); otherwise we must suppose with Marshall that the Rubric is used in a broad sense like R. Mark, IX, 2, on sæterndæg on þære forman fæstenwucan.

Lent is mentioned frequently in Anglo-Saxon texts: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, VI, 172, 6, þæt feowertiglecan fæstan ær Eastrum; III, XVII, 230, 9, "alle tid þæs feowertiglecan fæstenes ær Eastrum; *Ben. Rule*, Translation, XLI, 66, 5, over eallencten = in quadragesima; XLII, 67, 3, on fæstendagas = dies jejunii; XLVIII, 74, 10, on lenctenfæsten = in quadragesime diebus; 74, 12, on þam fæstendagum = in quibus diebus quadragesime; XLIX, 76, 5, on lencten fæstenne = istis diebus quadragesime; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1048, on lengtene and þæs sylfan lentenes; D. 1071 (E. 1070), on lengten; E. 1088, innan þam lengtene; 1092, to þam længtene; 1106, onforan længtene .... on þære forman længten wucan; 1110, to foran længtene; 1122, 1127, on þone lenten tyde; 1127, eall þæt lenten tid; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LVIII, 305, 21; XVII (22), "Sermo in XL," 102, 12; Assmann, Grein's *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, XL, 140 (Ermahnung zu Christlichem Leben —Larspell S. Dominica, III in XL). Marshall's Note on "Clean Lent" may be reinforced by examples: Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LV (1a), 284, 18, M. þ. l. eow eallum is cuð þæt þes gearlica ymbrene us gebringð efne nu þa clænan tid lenctenlices fæstenes; 284, 29, mid clænum fæstene and mid clænum geþance; 285, 31, on þisum clænum timan; compare *Blickling Homilies*, 39, 1; Hampson, *M. A. Kalendarium* s. v. "Clean Lent."

The Anglo-Saxon Lenten Laws were very strict. Lent-breech (lencten-bryce) of any sort must be doubly atoned (Ælfred, 5, § 5, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 29, Schmid, 74; Id., 40, Th., 39, Schm., 93–94; Canute, 48, Th., 173, Sch., 298); anyone who in Lent gave out holy law to the people without leave must pay a "bot" of CXX shillings (l. c.); and ordeals and oaths were not permitted at this time (Canute, I, 17, Th., 158, Schm., 264). Church canons were equally severe: "Excerptions" of Ecgbert, CVIII, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 335, "qui in Quadragesima ante Pascha, I annum poeniteat, nupserit" (the scribe inserts not without humor, "cum propria conjuge"); *Eccl. Inst.*, XXIII, Th., 487, contains another such injunction; Id., XXXVII, Th., 486, XLI, Th., 487, treat particularly of the details of the fast (cf. Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XVII, 238, 29; III, XX, 246, 34; V, II, 388, 8); Id., XXXVI, Th., 484, prescribes the time of confession (the Lent Shrift is given in MSS., Royal 2 B. V., and Cott., Tib. A., III, fol. 52ro, printed by H. Logeman, "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," *Anglia*, XII, 513); Id., XLI, XLIV, Th., 487, direct frequent communion at this season.

Myd-fæstene.

The perfect sequence of the Myd-fæstene and Myd-lentene Rubrics proves the identity of the two seasons. The generic name (fæsten) is here, as elsewhere, adapted to the greatest of yearly fasts; compare German Mittfasten.

Homilies, "In Media Quadragesima," are cited frequently by Wanley; and Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, XII, and *Lives of the Saints*, XIII, are devoted to this Sunday. The day is mentioned, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1047, Her on þisum geare wæs mycel gemot on Lundene to mid-festene = C. 1050, to mid-lencten; E. 1055, VII nihton ær midlenctene (Witena gemot); E. 1093, to midlengtene. Mid-lenten was sometimes called "Laetare Hierusalem" (Spelman, *Glossary* s. v.); sometimes "Dominica Refectionis" or "Refreshment Sunday"

(Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 65); and, in the French Church, Mî Carême (*Ann. Prayer Book*, 272).

Sunday, 5th Week in Lent.

In his Homily upon this Sunday (*Homilies*, II, XIII, 224), Ælfric tells us: "This tide from this present day until the holy Easter-tide is called CHRIST'S PASSION TIDE (CRISTES ÐROWUNG-TID), and all God's ministers in the holy church with their church-services honor and in remembrance hold his passion, through which we were all redeemed. Our books also say, that we should hold these fourteen days with great earnestness, on account of the approach of the holy passion and honorable resurrection of our Saviour. On these days we omit in our responses 'Gloria Patri' on account of our lament for the holy passion, unless some high festival-day occur during them."

St. Gregory's Mass-day.

Bouterwek's Note to *Cœlendcwide*, 37, needs but little supplement. Gregory's day appears in Ælfric's *Homilies*, II, IX (cf. Elstob's *English Saxon Homily*), in Bede's *Latin Poetical Calendar*, and in Cod. Cot. Tit. D., XXVII, but is omitted in Bede's *Homilies*, and in Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 71–75).

Thursday before Easter.

This day was greatly honored as the time of the Lord's Supper: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1106, on þa niht þe on morgen was Cena Domini, þæt is se þunres-dæg toforan Eastran; *Concordia*, 597, oþ to gereorde drihtnes = usque ad cenam domini; 633, on þam fiftan dæge se þe eac gereord drihtnes ys gecweden; 563, 667. On Cena Domini penitents were received again into the fold of the Church and com-

munion was administered (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XVII (22), 104, 12; XXXII (28), 153, 6; LVI (42), 289, 24).

At this time began the "three silent days:" Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 219, Circlice ðeawas forbeodað to secgenne ænig spel on þam þrym swig-dagum; II, 262, Ne mot nan man secgan spel on þam þrym swig-dagum; compare Ælfric's Homily, "In Cena Domini et V Feria et Sabbato Sancto" (Thorpe, *A. L.*, X, 464; Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1835, 310).

The "silent days" have been discussed by Bouterwek (*Cædmon*, CLVIII, CLIX); but one or two other references are useful in this connection. Stillness and due silence during the three days before Easter are enjoined by the *Concordia*, 630 sq.—at this place Zupitza's L. Fragment (*Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXIV) reads "swig-uhtan." In *Old English Homilies*, 2nd Ser., XVII (Morris, *E. E. T. Soc.*, 53, 101; cf. Morris's *Specimens*, I, IV, 11), 12th Century popular etymology—there so luxuriant—explains the purport of this "silence:" "Bitwenen his þrowenge and his ariste he lai on his sepulcre and swiede and for þat ben þe þre dage biforen estre cleped swidages." Id., XVI, p. 96 (*Specimens*, VI, b. 84), swimesse means a "mass without music." Id., XVI, 98, tells the befitting duties on the three days, "A shereðursdai[1] to absoluciun. a lange-fridai to holi cruche. an ester even to procession [abuten þe fanstone]."

Langa Frige-dæg.

Marshall institutes an interesting comparison between the names given by different nations to this day: Germ., Karfreitag, Gute Freitag, Still Freitag; French, Le grand Vendredi, Vendredi sanct or oré; English, Good Friday. The Scandi-

[1] Sherethursday long kept its name in the English Church: Horstmann's *Lives of the Saints*, 36, 360; 39, 220, 223, 244; 60, 25, On schere þores-day; Sir T. Malory (Caxton Reprint), 719, 32, On sherthursdaye. From the command contained in John XIII, 34, the Gospel for the day ("mandatum novum"), another name of the day, Maundy Thursday, was derived (Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v.; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 83–85).

navian nations still speak of Langfredag (*Danish-English Dictionary*, Ferrall and Repp, Copenhagen, 1845).

Langa Frige-dæg is not a hapaxlegomenon in Anglo-Saxon: *Canons* of Ælfric, 36, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 449, "Man ne mot halgian husel on langa frige-dæg forþan þe Crist þrowode on þone dæg for us" (cf. Notes of Johnson and Baron, p. 407); *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1137, "On his time þe Judeiss of Norwic bohtonan Cristenan cild beforen Eastren and pinidon him alle þe ilce pining þe ure Drihten was pined and on langfridai him on rode hengen," etc.; *Concordia*, 633, langunfrige (MS.) dæges þrowunge = excepta Parasceve passione; 734, No gloss to In die Parasceve (cf. L. Fragment). The word persisted for a short time in Middle English: Morris, *O. E. Homilies*, 2nd Ser., 95, 9, on lange fridai; Id., 99, 28–29, a lange fridai (*supra*).

Marshall derives the name from the longa oratio or lang gebed—a very probable etymology: Following the very unsafe guidance of the "swig-dagum" etymologist, one would conjecture that "langa" referred to the weary hours of the Crucifixion (compare Horstmann, *Lives of the Saints*, 36, 366, p. 229, A gode-friday al þe longue day).

In the *Shrine* Good Friday is placed on the same day as the Annunciation of Mary (March 25th),—a date often chosen for the day in Anglo-Saxon Calendars (Piper, *Kalendarien*, 71). The martyrologist had in mind the supposed duration of Christ's life (*Shrine*, 67), "þa æfter twa and ðritigum ȝeara and æfter ðrym monðum wæs Crist ahangen on rode on þone ylcan dæg," etc. See the excellent note on Good Friday, *Ann. Prayer Book*, 284; Hampson, *M. A. Kal.* s. v.

Easter Even.

The day was an important one in the Anglo-Saxon Church and is mentioned often in their writings: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. 1047, on Easter æfen; E. 1097, oð ðet Easter æfen; Canute, *Laws*, 1, 12, Schmid, 262, and leoht-gesceot þriwa on geare, ærest on Easter æfen; Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, v, vii, 404, 27,

wæs þy halgan dæge þæs Easterlican reste-dæges. The Latin name for the day was Sabbatum Sanctum. Aldred's glosses in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Durham Ritual* are interesting: Cap. sec. Marcum, Skeat, 5, Sabbato Sancto mane = se seternes dæg halig arlig;[1] *Durham Ritual*, p. 29, Sabbato Sancto mane = ðe sæternes dæg halig arlig; compare *Concordia*, 833, Sabbato Sancto = on reste haligum.

Under this Rubric, the Harrowing of Hell tradition must be mentioned. The account in the *Martyr Book* sub March 26 (*Shrine*, 68), does not verge from the beaten track. In his note to this passage, Cockayne says that the Harrowing of Hell is a very ancient expansion of the text of Matt., XXVIII, 52, and cites Chrysostom, "Hom. II in Pascha;" Augustine, *Sermons*, XXXIX, 5 (2nd Easter Sunday), etc. The best Anglo-Saxon Version of the Legend is naturally the *Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus* (Thwaites, *Heptateuchus, etc.*, 1698; Bright, *A.-S. Reader*, 129, Selection, XIX, Notes, p. 219). Compare *Ann. Prayer Book*, 287.

Easter Day.

The Menologist (*Cælendcwide*, 56) ushers in Easter thus:

"Aprelis monað on þam oftust cymð
seo mære tid mannum to frofre
Drihtnes ærist ðænne dream gerist
wel wide gehwær swa se witega sang."

The movable character of the feast is then poetized. Bouterwek's Note upon this is very short and leaves much to be said.

So much has been written about the different times of Easter that I shall consider this but briefly. For a scientific discussion of the Easter question, see Butcher's *Ecclesiastical Calendar*, London, 1871; for references useful in the Anglo-Saxon

[1] This date can have no reference to "Sæternes dæg ær halgan dæg," R. Mark, VI, 45, as Skeat intimates, Mark, Introd., XXIII. It is noteworthy, however, that none of the Mark lessons are assigned to Sabbatum Sanctum (Easter Æfen) in the other versions of the Gospels or, for that matter, in any other Rubrics that I have seen (compare Tables).

field, compare Bede's *Eccl. Hist.* (often); Bede's *De Temporibus*, XIII–XV, M. *P. L.*, 90, 286–287, Giles, VI, 129; Theodore, "Penitentiale," XXX, 4, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 295; Synodus Pharensis (Whitby, 664), Spelman, *Concilia*, 144; Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church* (1845), I, 50. The definite Easter rules, appearing in Anglo-Saxon texts, have, however, been rarely cited. I may mention a few of these: MS. Cott., Caligula A., XV, fol. 126a, *Leechdoms*, III, 226: "On Marti ofer XII, Kl. Aprl. loca hwær þu finde XIII nihta ealdne monan ofer þæt se niesta sunnandæg bið eastor dæg;" MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII, fol. 54b, cited by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 101; *Hexameron* (Norman), VII, p. 12, "And ne beoð næfre Eastron ær se dæg cume ðæt ðæt leoht hæbbe ða ðeostru oferswiðed, ðæt is ðæt se dæg beo lengra ðonne seo niht." Compare Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 309, 37; 310, 40; 322, 30; 324, 34.

Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, XCV, has discussed at length the connection between Easter and Eastre, a heathen Goddess, mentioned by Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, Chap. XV. In *O. E. Homilies* (Morris), 2nd Ser., 97, 99, the popular etymologist, to whose mind consistency was never a bugbear, tells us: "þis dai is cleped estrene dai þat is aristes dai;" "þis dai is cleped estre dai, þat is estene dai and te este (dainty) is husel" ("hu-sel = how good"). For a safer etymology, compare Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* s. v. "Easter;" Kluge, *Etym. Wörtb.* s. v. "Ostern."

Bouterwek, l. c., has mentioned Gospel examples of the word. A number from other sources may be useful: Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, II, II (2), 98, 19, ne woldon Eastron healdan in heora tid; II, II (2), 102, 11, rihte Eastron; II, III (4), 106, 31, þa symbelnesse Eastrana and þone dæg þære drihtenlican æriste; II, III (4), 108, 3, in gehealde rihtra Eastrana; II, VIII (9), 122, 14, þy ærestan Eastordæge; II, VIII (9), 122, 26, þære ilcan neahte þære halgan Eastrena; III, IV, 164, 129; III, XIV, 206, 1; 206, 20, 22, on þara Eastra mærsunge; III, XVIII (26), 240, 4, in þære Easterlican symbelnesse; compare III, XX, 246, 34; V, VI (7), 404, 27; V, XVI, 446, 25;

v, xvi, 454, 24; v, xvii, 456, 21; v, xix, 468–470; v, xx, 472, 8; v, xx, 474, 1; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 627, 641, 878 (C. 879), 1053, on Eastron; E. 639, Ercenbriht ærest Engliscra cininga, he gesette Eastor fæsten; 853, 872, A. 917 (B. C. D. 914), C. 979, C. D. E. 1010, ofer Eastron; A. 716, þæt hie Eastron on ryht healdan = D. E. on rihtum Eastrum; D. E. 774, on Eastertid; A. D. E. 878 (C. 879), C. 1053, on Eastran; A. C. 892 (B. 891), ofer Eastran ymbe gang-dagas oþþe ær; A. 921, foran to Eastron; C. D. E. 1012; C. D. E. 1016, toforan þam Eastron; C. 1012, wæs Easter dæg on ðam datarum Idus Aprilis = F. þa wæran Eastran Id. April; C. D. 1016, on ðone sunnan efen Octab. Pasce þa wæs xiii Kl. Mai; C. D. 1043 (E. F. 1042), on forman Easter daeig . . . . C. E. þa wæron Eastron on iii Non. April; E. 1061, innan þære Easter wucan on xiiii Kal. Mai; C. D. 1066, to þam Eastron—þa wæron efter þam middanwinter and wæron þa Eastran on þone dæg xvi Kal. Mai; E. 1086, 1087, 1096, to þam Eastron; D. 1067, on þisan Eastron, þa wæron Eastren on x Kal. April; E. 1095, on þisum geare wæron Eastron on viii Kal. April., and þa uppan Eastron; 1097, þa togeanes Eastron; 1116, æfter Eastron; 1122, on Pasches; 1123, eall Eastren-tyde; 1125, on Eastran daei; 1127, an to Eastren; 1130, æfter Easterne; 1100, 1104, 1105, 1107, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1116, to Eastron (the plural in these examples is the ordinary Anglo-Saxon use; cf. Bouterwek, *Id.*, xcvi); *Benedict. Rule*, Gloss, viii, 37, 5; xli, 73, 16, oð Eastran = usque in Pascha; viii, 37, 10; xv, 45, 18, fram Eastran = a Pascha; xv, 45, 10; xli, 73, 4, fram þære haligan Eastran = a sancto Pascha; Id., Translation, vii, 32, 10, oþ Eastron ("Winteney," fort Eastron); vii, 32, 19; x, 34, 7; xv, 39, 14, 21, 22; xlviii, 73, 8, from Eastron = a Pascha; xli, 65, 13, fram þam halgan Eastrun oð pentecosten; xlix, 77, 11, þara Eastrona ("Winteney," 103, 3, þa Eastre tid); *Blickling Homilies*, 35, 31, Easterlican; 35, 34, Easterdagas; 67, 24; 71, 24, Eastrum; 83, 7, Eastorlic; Ælfric, *Homilies*, i, 178, 23, oð ðone

halgan Easter dæg; I, 182, 3, seo halige Easter-tid; I, 216, 33, on þone Easterlican sunnan-dæg; I, 296, 20, fram ðære halgan Easter-tide; I, 310, 22, fram ðam halgan Easterlican dæge; II, 30, 5; 40, 11; 156, 14, on Easter-tide; II, 30, 33; 84, 29, ær Eastron; II, 32, 14, on þam ðriddan Easterlicum dæge (Easter Tuesday); II, 30, 36, on þam Easter dæge; II, 84, 21, oð þa halgan Easter-tide; II, 84, 30, on þam saternes-dages þære Easterlican wucan; II, 88, 5, his heofonlican Easter-tide; II, 278, 17, Crist is ure Easter-tide; II, 156, 14; 242, 21; 252, 10; 260, 6; 278, 13; 282, 31; 380, 28; Ælfric, "Homily upon John, XI, 47–54," Assmann, Grein, *Bibl. der A.-S. Prosa*, III, p. 67, l. 60, Hyt wæs þa gehende heora Easter-tide, and hi woldon habban þone halgan Easter-dæg geblodegodne welhreowlice mid þæs hælendes blod; Assmann, *Id.*, 152, 13, ær ðam symbeldæge þæra Eastrona. The verb, "beon ge-eastrode" (Wulfstan, *Homilies*, XXIII, 117, 14, K (Tib. A., III)), has not been noticed by Bosworth-Toller.

The Passover of the Old Dispensation and the Easter of the New were closely related in the eyes of Anglo-Saxon Churchmen. Pascha is glossed by Easter; "it was their Easter," Ælfric tells us in his Homily upon John, XI, 47 sq. (*supra*). In his *Homilies*, II, 282 (cited by Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide*, p. 23), he calls Pascha Faereld; compare Id., I, 310; II, 266, 18. Byrhtferð, 134, *Anglia*, VIII, 322, 1, says, "Pascha is ebreisc nama ꝯ he getacnað ofer færeld," and, after giving a description of the Paschal feast, concludes, "Id est transitus Domini, hyt is witodlice Godes færeld." It is interesting to compare Old Testament passages: Ex., XII, 21, offriað Phase þæt ys færeld; Ex., XI, 27, hit ys Godes færeldes offrung = victima transitus Domini est; Lev., XXIII, 5, on þam feowerteoðan dæge þæs forman monðes (March) on æfen bið drihtnes færeld (Phase Domini est); Joshua, V, 5, 10.

The regard paid to Easter in Anglo-Saxon times is evinced by *Concordia*, V, 832–892, where the Easter-service is given in full; by Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, XV, II, XV, and by *Blickling*

Homilies, VII; by the *Durham Ritual*, pp. 24, 177; by Byrhtferð, *Anglia*, VIII, 323, 330, 8; and by the *Martyr Book*, *Shrine*, p. 67. For the many civil and ecclesiastical Easter laws, compare the Indexes of Thorpe and Schmid, and Andrews's excellent Monograph, *The Old English Manor*.

Ofer Eastron be þære rode.

Marshall quotes from Æthelwold's *De Consuetudine Monachorum* (*Englische Studien*, IX, 296): "Singan hi þone antemp be þære halgan rode and þær æfter ænne be sancta Mariam." This will be found in the original[1] of the *De Cons. Mon.*, the *Concordia*, l. 240. A passage from *Concordia*, 348, is even more to the point: "Post sextam eant ad mensam hoc semper attendendum ut sexta feria de Cruce, Sabbato de Sancta Maria, nisi festiva aliqua die evenerit, missa celebretur principalis" ("On syxtan worcdage be þære rode, on saternes dæg be Sca. Marian"). This explains also R. Luke, x, 38, "Sæterndagum be Maria."[2]

Turner, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1828, III, Book x, p. 500, and Lingard, *History of Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, I, 422, Notes, have debated the idolatry of cross-worship in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and Bouterwek, *Cædmon*, CLXV sq., has discussed it at some length. Space does not permit me to consider the question; but a few references, not as yet mentioned, may aid future students of Rood-worship: *Concordia*, l. 766

[1] This has been discussed by me, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, June, 1893.

[2] *Sarum Missal*, Appendix E, p. 614: "The reasons assigned at the beginning of this Mass (p. 521) for the origin of Saturday in commemoration of our Lady are: 1st. That at Constantinople the veil before her image was drawn aside every Friday evening at Vespers, and replaced at the same hour the following night; 2nd. That, when all the disciples forsook our Lord and fled, she only who had borne him without pain and knew that he was God, remained; 3rd. Because the Sabbath is a day of rest and she is the door of Heaven; 4th. Because the Feast of the Mother should follow that of the Son; 5th. For that on the day our Lord rested from labor the Service should be more joyous." For other references to "The Saturday," see Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica*, 1879, p. 141.

sq., the full service described (cf. Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 77, 21, p. 229); 182, 242, 284 sq., 385, 665, 735, 833, 870, 895; *Durham Ritual*, p. 93, ad crucem salutandam; p. 150, Antifo' ad crucem; Ælfric's *Homilies*, I, 588, 16; 610, 10; II, 240, 23; 306, 21 (discussed by Bouterwek, l. c.); *Blickling Homilies*, 97, 10, "forþon we sceolan weorðian þæt halige sigetacen Cristes rode and æfter fylgeon and biddon ure synna forgifnessa ealle æt somne;" 27, 27; 33, 11; 47, 11–16; 90, 21; 191, 5; Assmann, *Homilies*, XIV, Grein, III, 164, "forþam we sculan weorðian Cristes rode and biddan ure synna forgifnessa ealle æt somne;" XV, 175, l. 169; 197, 214; XVII, 194, 34; Wulfstan, *Homilies*, 227, 8; *Shrine*, p. 67; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 885, "He (Marinus) sende him (Ælfred) micla gifa and þære rode dæl þe Crist on þrowode"= B. 883, Marinus sende lignum Domini Ælfredi cinge;" E. 1070, "ac hi (the outlaws of Hereward) rohton na þing gedon into þe mynstre clumben upp to þe halge rode namen þa þe kynehelm of ure Drihtnes heafod."

Gang-days.

The Gang-days Rubrics (see Tables) present some difficulties. Neither Marshall (Notes, 525) nor Bouterwek (Note to *Cælendcwide*, 71–75) makes clear the connection existing between the Gang-days and the Major and Minor Litanies; but Piper's Table of Calendars is helpful. My purpose is threefold:—I. To trace briefly the early history of the Major and Minor Litanies. II. To show that the Major Litany, contrary to the Roman custom, was placed on the Gang-days by the Anglo-Saxons of the 10th Century. III. To prove, contra Bouterwek, that the Gang-days always fell in the week of the Ascension.

I.

Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 102, 8, describes, upon the authority of Paul the Deacon (*De Gestis Langobardorum*, III, 24, M. *P. L.*, 95), the institution of the Major Litany: "The Major is in the feast of St. Mark (April 25th), and was created by the

blessed Gregory after a plague, the groin swelling." Durand then explains the three names of the Litany, the Gregorian, Cruces Nigrae and Septiform (*Concordia*, 847, includes in its service the Letanie Septene). Compare Notes to Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum*, 393, M. *P. L.*, 78, 385; "In Ordinem Romanum Commentarius," XCVII, Id., 908; CXV, Id., 916; Glossaries of Spelman and Du Cange, s. v. "The Minor Litany," says Durand, *Rationale*, VI, 102, 4, "which is called also Rogations and Processions, was made for the three days before Ascension by Mamertus, Bishop of Vienna, who, on account of the plague of wolves and wild animals and the severe earthquakes, declared a three days fast and instituted Litanies. It is called Minor because it was established by a minor person, a simple bishop, in a minor place, Vienna. The other is called Major because it was established at a greater place, Rome, by a greater man, Gregory, and for a great and severe sickness." Compare the copious references, given by Du Cange s. v. "Rogationes," and by Spelman s. v. "Perambulatio."

That the Major and Minor Litanies early came into conflict in England is shown by the 16th Canon of the Council of Clovesho (747), Spelman, *Concilia*, 249. This is given by Bouterwek in his *Cælendcwide* Note, and is discussed by Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 42; but I insert a part of it, as necessary to my subsequent discussion: "Ut Letaniae, i. e. Rogationes a clero omnique populo his diebus cum magna reverentia agantur, i. e. die septimo Kalendarum Maiarum (April 25th) juxta ritum Romanae ecclesiae, quae et Letania Major apud eam vocatur. Et item quoque secundum morem priorum nostrorum tres dies ante Ascensionem Domini in caelos . . . . venerentur." Du Cange's references s. v. "Letania Romania" and "Letania Gallicana" show how correct the Canon was in its distinction between the uses of the two churches.

II.

The question now arises. Was the Letania Romana or the Letania Gallicana of Mamertus the major prayer-service

among the Anglo-Saxons? In Bede's *Homilies* and in his *Poetical Calendar* (Piper, 72, 76) the Major Litany is placed, in strict accordance with Roman custom, upon St. Mark's Day (April 25)—and these were written many years before Clovesho. Yet the Gallic custom ("secundum morem priorum nostrorum") of observing the Major Litany in Gang-week was certainly dominant in the time of Ælfric. Feria Secunda Litania Majore (Rubric, *Homilies*, II, XXI, p. 314), In Litania Majore Feria Tertia (Rubric, II, XXII, p. 332), In Letania Majore Feria Quarta (Rubr., II, XXV, p. 360) indicate the three days before Ascension. Ælfric tells us in the last mentioned Homily, that "to-day (Wednesday, Greater Litany) is the vigil of the great festival, which will be to-morrow (cf. R. John, XVII, 1, Wodnesdæg, Gang-wucan to þam Vigilian), because on that day Jesus, after his resurrection, ascended to his Heavenly Father." In *Homilies*, I, XVIII, p. 244, he attributes to Mamertus the establishment of the Greater Litany, and again, when, in his Homily on St. Gregory (Thorpe, II, IX; Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily*, 26–27; Bright, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 90), he describes (p. 126) the establishment of the sevenfold Litany, he links it with no service in his own church. Hampson remarked (*M. A. Kalendarium*, I, 227) this peculiar usage.

Wanley cites in his *Catalogue* (see Index) many Major Litany Homilies on the Gang-days. An extract from one of these shows the close allegiance to Gallic usage (S. 5, XXXIX, 422, "Sermo in Letania Majore," Wanley, p. 119): "M. þ. l. cwæð se halga lareow hwæt we gemunan maȝon þæt we oft gehyrdon secgan þæt wise men ðurh haliges Gastes gyfe gesetton us þas halgan Gang-dagas, þry to fæstenne and on to gangenne ure sawle to þearfe." Another piece of evidence to the close connection between Litania Major and Gang-days is that MS. S. 14, XLV, 219, Wanley, 135, gives "Alius sermo Feria III in Rogationibus" as the Rubric of a sermon, which is elsewhere (S. 5, XXXVIII, 412, Wanley, 119) assigned to "Major Letania, Feria III." *Blickling Homily*, IX (p. 104),

which has the Rubric, "Crist se Goldbloma," is found with Rubric, "In Letania Majore, Feria Tertia" in MS. CCC. S. 9, h. 33 (Morris, Introduction to *Blickling Homilies*, p. xii). The Gang-day Homilies of the Vercelli MS. (Wülker, *Grundriss*, p. 489) show the same usage; but no clue to date is given by Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Rubric to xvii, Sermo in Laetania Majore. Byrhtferð, Ælfric's contemporary, has doubtless the Major Litany in mind when he says (172, *Anglia*, viii, 329, 21): "On morgen byð se forman gang-dæg. þa dagas synt gehaten Letaniarum dies on grecisc and on lyden rogacionum and on englisc ben-dagas."

The Roman observance was by no means uncommon; with the exception of the 10th Century, it was the prevailing usage in the Saxon Church. We are told in *Cœlendcwide*, l. 70:

"ðæt embe nihtgontyne niht[gerimes]
ðæs ðe Easter-monað to us cymeð
ðæt man reliquias ræran onginneð
halig[ra] gehyrste þæt is healic dæg
ben-tiid bremu."

The dates in these lines have proved a crux to scholars (see Grein, *Germania*, x, 422; *Paul u. Braune Beitraege*, x, 517; Holthausen, *Mittheilungen* (*Anglia*, December, 1892), iii, viii, 239). Bouterwek makes a happy reference to *Durham Ritual*, p. 36, "Hi sunt capitulae in Letania Majore þæt is on fif dagas," but his inference that the "five days" (April 20–25) were Gang-days is not warranted (*infra*).

The *Martyr Book*, which, as Cockayne claims (*Shrine*, p. 44) and Wülker is inclined to think (*Grundriss*, p. 451), is of the age of Ælfred, shows the Roman custom (*Shrine*, 74): "On þone fif and twentezðan dæg ðæs monðes (April 25th) bið seo tid on Rome and on eallum zodes ciricum, seo is nemned Laetania Majora, þæt is þonne micelra bena dæg," etc. The Minor Litany also is recognized, *Shrine*, 79 (May 3rd): "hwilum ær hwilum æfter beoð þa þry dagas on þæm godes ciricum, and cristes folc mærsiað Letanias." These quotations from the *Shrine* were translated by Hampson (*M. A. Kalendarium*, i, 227) directly from MS. Julius A., x, fol. 86b.

In the *Calendar* in MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII (Piper, 76; Hampson, I, 438), composed certainly after 1012 A. D., as it contains under April 19th the name of St. Alphegius, who died in that year, Letania Major is placed on April 25th. This is the case in later *Chronicle* entries: A°. 1066 (Th., 336), on þone æfen Letania Majore þe is VIII Kalendas Mai; E. 1109, and wæs se forma Easter dæg on Letania Major (a fixed date). Compare Hampson, Glossary s. v. Litania; Piper, *Kalendarien*, p. 90; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 109.

III.

I have already noted the error of Bouterwek's belief (*Cœlendcwide*, p. 24) that the Gang-week immediately preceded St. Mark's day. Byrhtferð's words (147, *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 35) apply perfectly to the days before the Ascension. "Se mona in gangdagum ne mæg beon jungra þonne an and twentig ne yldra þonne nigon and twentig . . . Gangdagas ne magon næfre beon ær v Kl. Mai ne æfter pridie IX Kal. Junii." The *Martyr Book*, *Shrine*, 79, sub May 3rd, keeps the Gang-days perfectly distinct from its Litania Major of April 25; and "þa fif dagas" of the *Durham Ritual* (*supra*) has nothing to do with the Gang-days. "To Gangdagon þæge[1] twegen dagas" (R. Luke, XI, 5) refer to Monday and Tuesday of Ascension week. Gang-days are mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:* A°. 913, 921, 922, 1016, 1063, ðа gangdagas (cited by Bouterwek); A. 913, 922, betweox gangdagum and middan sumera; 1016, to þam gangdagum after middan sumera (a mistake, Thorpe, p. 280). Compare Indexes in Thorpe, *A. L.* and in Schmid, *Gesetze*, and *Annotated Prayer Book*, 296–298.

Ascension.

In connection with this day the Rubrics, "On Wednesday in Gang-week at the Vigils" (R. John, XVII, 1) and "Thursday in Gang-week" (R. Mark, XVI, 4) must be mentioned.

[1] "þæge" is a rare but legitimate form (cf. John XII, 14, where the Hatton MS. reads "þa"). See Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss* I, 902, § 122.

The *Durham Ritual*, p. 127, mentions the Service, "De Ascensione;" the *Martyr Book, Shrine*, 80, places under May 5th. "se dæg þe ure Dryhten to heofonum astag;" and Ælfric writes a Homily for the day (I, XXI, p. 294). Ascension Day was sometimes known as Holy Thursday: Ælfred, V, 5, Schmid, *Gesetze*, 74, "se þe stalaþ on Sunnan-niht oþþe on Gehhol oþþe on Eastron oþþe on þone Halgan Þunresdæg . . . twybote swa on Lencten fæsten." In *Blickling Homilies*, XI, 155, the Rubric, "On þa Halgan Þunresdæg" is written in a later hand.

Pentecost.

Byrhtferð gives definite rules for finding Pentecost: 147 *Anglia*, VIII, 324, 36, "Se mona on pentecosten ne mæg beon jungra þon fif nihta ne yldra þon endlufon. pentecosten ne mæg beon ær VI Id. Mai ne æfter Idus Junii." Cf. Id., 84, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 15; 172–173, Id., 329, 26. MS. Cott., Titus D., XXVII (Hampson, I, 439; Piper, p. 76), assigns the "Prima Pentecostes" to May 15th and "Ultima Pentecostes" to June 13th—an error, of course, as Pentecost can fall upon May 10th. The *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 85, 3; Wanley, *Catalogue*, 107) places "se micla dæg ðe is nemned Pentecosten" under May 15th.

Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 310, draws from Beda's Pentecost Homily (*Anglia*, XVI, 20) an explanation of the significance of the day in the Old and New Dispensations. Compare *Blickling Homilies*, 133, 11.

The day is often mentioned in the *Chronicle:* A. B. C. E. 626, on þone halgan æfen Pentecostes; A. 972, on Pente costenes mæsse-dæg; D. 1067, on Hwitan Sunnan-dæg;[1] E.

[1] In an excellent article on "Lok Sounday," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1892, pp. 88–108, Professor John M. Manly has discussed exhaustively the Saxon Whitsunday. Id., Note 4, page 107, may be supplemented by a reference to the Mark Capitula in the "Lindisfarne MS.," Skeat, *Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, 5, "Post Pentecosten in jejunium feria, III . . . feria VI de albas Paschae" = æfter fifteig dæg fæstern wodnes-dæge . . . frige-dæg of ðæm hwitum eostres." See Baron, *Guardian*, Aug. 17th, 1859; Earle, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Note to page 347.

1086, to þam Pentecosten; E. 1087, on Pentecosten; 1099, 1100, 1102, on Pentecosten mæssan wucan; 1104, ðises geares wæs se forma Pentecostes dæg on Nonas Jun. 1107, 1108, 1109, 1110, 1111, 1113, 1121, 1123, ofer Pentecoste wuce. For service at Pentecost, compare *Concordia*, VIII, *Durham Ritual*, 127; for Pentecost laws, Edgar, II, 3, Schmid, 186; Æthelred, V, 11, Schmid, 222; VI, 17, Schmid, 230; VIII, 9, Schm., 244; Canute, I, 8, Schm., 258; I, 16, § 1, Schm., 264.

Ember Days.

Baron (Johnson's *Laws and Canons*, 173–180) has made a careful study of these periods of fasting in the Anglo-Saxon Church. The etymology of "Ember" has long since been made clear (compare *Century* and *New English Dictionaries*); but Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 1845, I, 427, believed that "ymbren" denoted some part of the service of the day, probably the circuit or public procession made at that time. Ymbren, however, often occurs in the sense of "year's course" (Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 104, 18, eft ymbe geara ymbrynum; II, 84, 24; 98, 20; 182, 26, etc.; compare Marshall, p. 528); and we are told of the Quatuor Tempora by Leo (442 A. D.), cited by Baron, *Id.*, 176: "ita per totius anni circulum distributa sunt."

The position of the Ember Days changed within Anglo-Saxon times. According to the "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391, "þa riht ymbren dagas" fell "on Kl. Martii on þære forman wucan and Kal. Julii on þære afteran wucan and on Kal. Septembri on þære þriddan wucan and on Kal. Decembri on þa nehstan wucan ær Cristes mæssan." This was the Gregorian arrangement, *Liber Sacramentorum*, 106, 400, M. *P. L.*, 78, 118, 391 (cf. Æthelred, VI, 23, and ymbren and fæsten swa swa Scs. Gregorius Angelcynne sylf hit gedihte). This arrangement was adhered to by Calendar Cott. Vitellius E. XVIII of the 11th Century (Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 422 sq., Glossary, s. v. Ember Days). In the "Dialogus" of Ecgbert (Baron, *Id.*, 180) and in our Rubrics,

the Ember Weeks were the First Week in Lent, Pentecost Week, the Week before Harvest Equinox, and the Week before Midwinter. They were established at their present position by the Council of Placentia (1095 A. D.) (*N. E. Dict.* s. v.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 236, 248, 270, 673). The Ember Days were always on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays; compare Byrhtferð, 88, *Anglia*, VIII, 311, 38; 90, *Id.*, 312, 13. The *Concordia*, 584, 1036, gives the service at these times; and the Laws direct, on the Ember Days, fasting (Canute, I, 16, Schmid, 262), forbid oaths and ordeals (Æthelred, V, 18, Schm., 224; VI, 25, Schm., 230; Canute, I, 17, Schm., 264), and make the four Wednesdays prominent among the days of rejoicing for "theow-men" and freemen (Ælfred, 43, Schm., 96).

Midsummer.

"Đænne wuldres ðegn
ymb ðreotyne þeodnes dyrling
Johannes in geardagan wearð acenned
tyn nihtum eac we ða tide healdaþ
on midne sumor." (*Cælendcwide*, l. 115).

Bouterwek's long note to this passage renders mine short. Hickes, *Ant. Lit. Sept.*, I, 219, cites from the *Martyr Book* this passage (*Shrine*, 95, 4): "On þone feower and twentez þan dæg þæs monþes bið Sce. Johannes acennes þæs fulweres, se wæs acenned sex monðum ær Crist and Gabriel se heah engel bodade acennesse and sægde his fæder his noman ær þon he acenned wære." St. Augustine's pretty symbolism in Ælfric's Homily upon this day (I, XXV, p. 356) has already been noted.

Midsummer is mentioned frequently in the *Chronicle:* A. 898, ær middum sumera; B. C. 916, A. 920, 922, foran to middan sumera; B. 918, XII nihtum ær middan sumera (C. inserts pridie Id Junii); A. 922, XII nihtum ær middan sumera; C. D. E. 1006, ofer þone midne sumor; C. D. E. 1016, æfter middan sumera; C. D. 1040, foran to middan

sumera (E. 1039, VII nihtum ær middan sumera); C. 1056, VIII nihton (D. ehtan nihte) ær middan sumera; E. 1131, and þær wunode eall to mid sumer daei and þes oðer daies æfter, S. Johannis messedai; D. 1068; E. 1097, 1101, 1114.

For discussions of Midsummer, compare Belethus, Chap. 137, p. 365; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 617–624, 757; Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, I, 169–187; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 402; *Annotated Prayer Book*, St. John Baptist's Day.

St. Michael's Mass Day.

For a list of MSS. containing homilies for this day, compare Morris, *Blickling Homilies*, Introduction, XV. Just as Rome-penny was exacted at Peter's Mass (Andrews's *Old English Manor*), so "pecunia eleemosinae" was exacted in this time (Æthelred, VII, 7, Schm., 241; Anhang, III, § 4, Schm., 374).[1] A three days fast was also enjoined (Æthelred, VII, 7, Schm., 240).

All Saints' Mass.

"And þy ylcan dæge ealra we healdaþ
Sancta symbel ðara ðe siþ oððe ær
Worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes."
(*Cælendcwide*, l. 199).

Compare Bede, *Latin Poetical Calendar* (Piper); *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 144; Wanley, *Catalogue*, p. 108), ealra halgena tid; Ælfric, *Homilies*, I, 359; *Leechdoms*, III, 155, All Hallows an unfavorable time for blood-letting; *Laws*, Schmid, Index.

Advent.

The "Before Midwinter" Rubrics will fall, of course, under this head. A rule for determining the beginning of Advent is given in MS. Cott., Cal. A., XV, fol. 126a, *Leechdoms*, III, 226:

[1] The enumeration of Church Dues, MS. Tiberius A. III, fol. 89a., has been printed by Cockayne, *Shrine*, p. 208.

"Ælce ȝeare þonne þu scyle witan hwylce dæge man scyle weorðian, and healdan þone halgan sunnan dæg, adventum domini, warna þe þanne þæt þu hit naht ær v, Kal. Decemb' (Nov. 27) ne naht æfter III, Nonas þises sylfes monðes (Dec. 3) ne healde; ac on þison seofan dagum þu scealt healdan butan ælcere tweonunge þone dæg and þone tokyme mid ealre arwurðnesse."

Ælfric says of the season (*Homilies*, I, 600): "þeos tid oð midne winter is gecweden, ADVENTUS DOMINI, þæt is DRIHTNES TO-CYME. His to-cyme is his menniscnys. . . . Nu stent se gewuna on Godes gelaðunge, þæt ealle Godes ðeowan on cyrclicum ðenungum, ægðer ge on halgum raedingum ge on gedremum lofsangum, ðære witegena gyddunga singallice on þyssere tide reccað." At this time the Laws forbid ordeals and oaths (Æthelred, V, 18, Schmid, 224; Wulfstan, XXIII (47), 117, 15), and "wifunga" (Æthelred, VI, 25, Schm., 230; Canute, I, 17, Schm., 264). Compare *Durham Ritual*, 127, "De Adventu Domini;" *Concordia*, 487, on to-cyme Drihtnes = In Adventu Domini; Capitula in Lindisfarne MS.; *Ann. Prayer Book*, 116, 245–249, 592.

On Sætern-dæg to Æw-fæstene ær Middan-wintra, R. Luke, III, 1.

Marshall's translation (p. 532), "Sabbato Quatuor Temporum Adventus" is not strictly correct and his note shows how much the Rubric perplexed him: "Æw Saxonibus nostris significabat jejunium-nuptias. . . . An vero haec feria esurialis dicta fuerit Æw-fæsten quod fortasse seculis illis remotioribus aeque ac quibusdam citerioribus prohibitum fuisset majoribus nostris celebrare nuptias sub hanc Jejunii solemnitatem, definiant alii quibus copia librorum otiumque eos versandi suppetunt." Blessed with the "greater supply of books," Bosworth explains "æw-fæsten" as "a fixed or legal fast" (*Gospels*, p. 578; Bosworth-Toller, s. v.).

Are Æw-fæsten and Æ-fæsten identical? Æ means both "law" and "marriage" (Bosworth-Toller, s. v.); and Æw

appears with the meaning "law," Ine, Proæmium, 1 (Thorpe, *A. L.*, 45). In the place cited other MSS. read æwe and æ (cf. O. Frs., â, ê, êwe; O. H. G., êwa, êha, êa). Schmid, Glossar, s. v. Æwe regards Æw as a plural form of Æ. In any case, it is clear that we may regard Æw-fæsten as a variant of Æ-fæsten and not as a "jejunium-nuptiae."

The Æ-festene are thus described by Ecgbert, "Confessionale," 37, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 358: "Ðreo *æ-fæstenu* (legitima jejunia) syndon on geare; an ofer eall folc, swa þæt XL nihta foran to Eastron, þonne we þone teoðan sceat þæs geares lysað; *and þæt XL nihta ær ȝeolum*, þonne gebiddeð hine eall þæt werod fore, and orationes rædað, and þæt XL nihta ofer Pentecosten." Another description will be found, "Capitula" of Theodore, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 309. These fasts are elsewhere referred to: "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add. 21, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 391, fæste XL daga, butan þam æ-fæstenum (exceptis legitimis jejuniis) and lengten fæsten; "Confessionale" of Ecgbert, XXIX, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 355, gif wif dry-cræft and galdor and unlibban wyrce, fæste XII monað oððe III æ-fæstenu oððe XL nihta; *Id.*, XXX. The word Æ-fæsten is used with a broader meaning, "Penitentiale" of Ecgbert, Add., I, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 390, and aa hwile þe he lifige, fæste Wodnesdagum and Frige-dagum and þa þreo *oðre* æ-fæstenu forga flæsc. In the Notes to Gregory's *Liber Sacramentorum*, M. *P. L.*, 78, § 445, p. 433, the three Quadragesimas or "legitima jejunia" are discussed at length, and their observance among the Gauls of the Sixth Century proved. Bede mentions them, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XIX, 244, 22; IV, XXXI, 376, 9.

If Æw-fæstene is the Winter Quadragesima, to what Saturday in the fast does our Rubric apply? Without doubt, to the Saturday immediately before Midwinter. (1). In *Calendar*, Cott. Vitellius, E. XVIII, printed by Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 433, "Mense December in proximo Sabbato ante vigilia Natale Domini celebratio." (2). Of all the Ember Days in the year, this alone has received no gospel. (3). The gospel for the Saturday of Æw-fæstene before Midwinter corresponds to the

text of Gregory's Homily "In Sabbato Quat. Temp. ante Nat. Christi" (Tables).

To Cyric-halgungum. R. John, x, 22.

Marshall, p. 533 and Piper, *Kalendarien*, 107, show that each cloister had its Wake day. Church-hallowings are mentioned frequently in Anglo-Saxon writings: Æthelwold, "De Consuetudine Monachorum," *Engl. Stud.*, IX, 296, singan hi be þære cyric-halgung; *Concordia*, 546, 620; Ælfric, *Homilies*, II, 574; *Martyr Book* (*Shrine*, 136, 4; Wanley, *Catalogue*, 109), on þone XXVIIII dæg þæs monðes (September) bið Sce. Michael Cirican gehalgung; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 1065 (Thorpe, 332), and Edward Kinge com to Westmynstre to þam middanwintre and seo Cyrc-halgung was on Cilda-mæssedæg and he forðferde on Twelftan Æfen; Wright-Wülker, *Vocabularies*, 484, 13, Scenophegia, tabernaculorum dedicatio; 484, 16, Encenie, nove dedicationis (compare Belethus, c. 134, p. 364, Scenophegia, ante fixionem tabernaculorum in Septembri; Encenia, dedicatio in Decembri).

Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, XVII, 232, 3, tells us of Cedd: "He said it was the habit of those from whom he learnt the rule of monastic discipline, to hallow first to the Lord, by prayer and fasting, the new sites which they received for the erection of monastery or church." Wulfstan, *Homilies*, LIV, 277, 10, thus addresses his flock: "Leofan men ic wille eow nu cyðan ymbe cyric mærsunge þæt ge þe geornor understandan magan hu man cirican weorþian scyle þe gode sylfum to lofe and to wurðmynte gehalgod bið." Such advice was necessary, to judge from Ælfric, *Lives of the Saints*, XXI, 313:

> "Sume men eac drincað æt deadra manna lice
> Ofer ealle þa niht swiðe unrihtlice
> And gremiað god mid heora gegaf-spræce
> þonne nan gebeorscipe, ne gebyraþ æt lice
> Ac halige gebedu þær gebyriaþ swiðor."

This must have been equally true of Church-wakes to make necessary *Canons* of Edgar, 28, Thorpe, *A. L.*, 397, "and we læraŏ þæt man æt ciric-wæccan swiŏe gedreoh si, and georne gebidde and ænig gedrince and ænig unnit þar ne dreoge."

Useful references are: Spelman, *Glossary*, s. v. Wak, "Haec eadem sunt quae apud Ethnicos Paganalia dicuntur;" Hampson, *M. A. Kal.*, I, 351 sq.; Glossary, s. v. Wake; Bouterwek, *Cœlendcwide* s. "Michaheles;" Hazlitt, *Popular Antiquities*, II, 1. A stanza from a song of the German Steiermärker (*Chronik der Zeit* (1892), Heft. XVII) will show how such an anniversary is celebrated in our own day:

"Und kimmt halt der Kirta
Da geh'n wir zum Tanz
Da wixt sie sich z'samma.
Recht nett auf'n Glanz."

Note.—With the exception of a few recent references, my work has been in its present form since May, 1893; but publication has been delayed by unavoidable circumstances.

FREDERICK TUPPER, JR.

LIFE.

I was born at Charleston, S. C., and received my early training at the High School and the College of that city. At the completion of my undergraduate work, in 1890, I entered the Johns Hopkins University. English was selected as my major subject; and, during the second year of my residence, a University Scholarship and a Fellowship in my chosen department were awarded me. My studies, main and subsidiary, have been under Professors Bright and Browne,—Adams and Emmott,—Gildersleeve, Wood, and Elliott. To all these gentlemen, I give sincere thanks for the kindnesses that I have received at their hands; and to Dr. Bright, in particular, I desire to express my warmest appreciation of the interest that he has taken in my career and of the impetus that he has given to my work.

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JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
May 1, 1893.